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SCOTLAND BEFORE 1700

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# SCOTLAND BEFORE 1700

FROM

## CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

P. HUME BROWN

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN



EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS

1893

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE present Volume seems the natural sequel to one which I published two years since, entitled "Early Travellers in Scotland." The picture these travellers gave of the country between the 13th and 18th centuries was in many respects so unflattering that a good Scotsman was bound to ask to what extent the picture was true. In the case of such visitors as Thomas Kirk and the author of "The Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland,"<sup>1</sup> their intention was so manifestly to make odious and ridiculous everything connected with Scotland, that what they say is to be taken only with the largest reserves. With visitors from France it was different. From the long-standing friendship between Scotland and their own country they were disposed to receive favourable impressions, and to magnify the attractions and resources of their ancient ally. And it is the fact that the accounts of Scotland by the different Frenchmen who visited the country are much more favourable than the accounts of Englishmen who came about the same period. Kirk and Jorevin de Rocheford saw Scotland, the one in 1677<sup>2</sup> and the other about 1661, but from their respective reports of the state of the country and its people, we might fancy that centuries lay between the dates of their visits.

But if Frenchmen were fully disposed to magnify the greatness and glory of Scotland, they could not but in their own minds make comparisons between it and the country they came from. In what Froissart, Jean de Beaugué, Estienne Perlin, and other Frenchmen say of Scotland,

<sup>1</sup> See *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 96, 251. <sup>2</sup> In *E.T.* the date (1679) of the publication of Kirk's pasquinade is given. The date when he actually visited Scotland was 1677. See *Tours in Scotland*, 1677 and 1681, by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby, published as a supplement to *E.T.*

France is always before them as a standard of comparison. It is needless to say that in respect of natural advantages, the wealth of the upper classes, in the size and prosperity of its towns, Scotland must have seemed a poor enough place in comparison with its brilliant ally. For this reason, therefore, the testimonies of Frenchmen are to a certain extent misleading as to the real progress made by Scotland in proportion to her natural resources. Other tests and a larger array of facts than all these travellers give us, are needed to form a true conception of the general degree of comfort and civilisation to be found among the Scottish people during the four centuries which are under our notice. It is to supply these facts and to suggest these different tests that the materials of the present volume have been brought together.

If we test the relative prosperity of countries by the freedom and comfort of the people at large, rather than by the luxury of courts and cities, the evidence borne by the present volume proves beyond a doubt that Scotland had clearly the advantage of France throughout the whole period under our consideration. We have but to read the extracts given from the Statutes of the pre-Reformation Church of Scotland, from the Acts of Parliament, and from such a historian as John Major, to realise that the poorer country was already moving along lines of development on which France did not really enter till after the great Revolution. "Of outward elegance," says John Major, who knew both countries from long personal acquaintance, "I find more in the cities of France and their inhabitants than among the Britons; but in the country and among the peasantry, there is more of elegance in Britain."<sup>1</sup> Of the comparative freedom and resources of the peasantry of France and Scotland, Froissart gives us a casual but suggestive hint in the following passage—"When arrived in the lowlands, they (the French soldiery) found the whole country ruined;<sup>2</sup> but the people of the country made light of it, saying that with six or eight stakes they would soon have new houses, and find cattle enow for provision; for the Scots had driven them for security to the forests. You must, however, know, that whatever the French wanted to buy, they were made to pay very dear for: and it was

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 58. <sup>2</sup> By the English invasion.

fortunate the French and Scots did not quarrel with each other seriously, as there were frequent riots on account of provision. The Scots said, the French had done them more mischief than the English; and when asked, "In what manner?" they replied, "By riding through their corn, oats, and barley, on their march, which they trod under foot, not condescending to follow the roads, for which damages they would have a recompense before they left Scotland; and they should neither find vessel nor mariner who would dare put to sea without their permission."<sup>1</sup> The French knights had certainly excellent reason to marvel at this bold bearing of the Scottish peasant when they compared him with his fellow at home. In 1484, more than a century after the date to which this passage from Froissart refers, the French peasantry presented the following complaint to the famous assembly of the States-General which met shortly after the accession of Charles VIII. "During the past thirty-four years troops have been ever passing through France and living on the poor people. When the poor man has man-aged by the sale of the coat on his back, after hard toil, to pay his *taille*, and hopes he may live out the year on the little he has left, then come fresh troops to his cottage, eating him up. In Normandy multitudes have died of hunger. From want of beasts men and women have to yoke themselves to the carts, and others, fearing that if seen in the daytime they will be seized for not having paid their *taille*, are compelled to work at night. The king should have pity on his poor people, and relieve them from the said *tailles* and charges."<sup>2</sup>

The inference from these and other testimonies seems to be that at least during the later Middle Age the Scottish peasantry enjoyed life on easier terms than those of the same class in any other country in Europe. The insurrections in the 14th century of the Jacquerie in France, and the followers of Wat Tyler in England,<sup>3</sup> reveal a state of

<sup>1</sup> *E.T.*, pp. 12-13. <sup>2</sup> The above translation is that of Mr Seeböhm in his *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (p. 45). See also Martin, *Hist. de France*, Livre xlii. <sup>3</sup> There were special causes at work in the case of both of these peasant insurrections; but the main cause was the same in the case of both—want of the necessities of life, and the tyranny of superiors. Cf. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I. 78 et seq. (1866).

things to which Scotland seems to offer no parallel. From his cow and his field of oats or beans, the Scottish peasant was at least assured of the bare necessities of life.<sup>1</sup> Everything seems to show, also, that the relation between him and his superiors, both lay and religious, had no element of that bitterness which in the case of Germany and France eventually issued in the Peasants' War and the Revolution. In Scottish history there is no trace of this antagonism between classes, and it is a tribute to that much-abused order, the Scottish nobility, that though they gave their kings so much trouble, their relations to their vassals were marked by mutual good-feeling and loyalty. "For albeit," said John Knox to Bothwell, "that to this hour it hath not chaused me to speik with your Lordship face to face, yit have I borne a good mynd to your house; and have bene sorry at my heart of the trubles that I have heard you to be involved in. For, my lord, my grandfather, goodsher<sup>2</sup>, and father have served your Lordshipis predecessoris, and some of thame have died under their standartis; and this is a part of *the obligation of our Scottish kyndnes*."<sup>3</sup> In a country where the peasantry could entertain such feelings towards their superiors, their lot could not have been without certain alleviations.

For the 17th century the evidence is conclusive that the peasantry of Scotland enjoyed a degree of comfort unknown to the same class in France. The testimony of two writers, both the most capable and most unimpeachable of witnesses, brings this strikingly before us. John Ray, the Naturalist, who visited Scotland about the year 1662, has the following passage in his account of his travels in the country:—"We observed little or no fallow grounds in Scotland; some layed ground we saw, which they manured with sea-wreck. The people seem to be very lazy, at least the men, and may be frequently observed to plow in their cloaks. It is the fashion of men to wear cloaks when they go abroad, but especially on Sundays. They lay out most they are worth

<sup>1</sup> Camden says, "that, in the low grounds the Scots have store of pease and beans, which for the strength of their feeding are much used by the labouring people."—*Britannia* (Gibson's translation), p. 1154. <sup>2</sup> Maternal grandfather. <sup>3</sup> Knox, *Works*, ii. 323-4 (Edit. Laing).



in cloaths, and a fellow that hath scarce ten groats besides to help himself with, you shall see come out of his smoaky cottage like a gentleman.”<sup>1</sup>

Compare with this picture of the lazy Scottish peasant who could afford to plough in his cloak, and dress like a gentleman on Sundays, the following description of his fellow in the France of Louis XIV. One of the classical passages in French literature, it has the distinctive qualities of its author's genius—reality, precision, and freedom from every suggestion of rhetoric. “One sees certain ferocious creatures, male and female, spread over the country, black, livid, and all scorched with the sun, attached to the earth which they dig and turn up with unconquerable stubbornness; they have an articulate voice, and when they raise themselves on their feet they display a human countenance, and indeed are human beings. They retire at night to their caverns (*tanières*), where they live on black bread, water, and roots. They spare other men the labour of sowing, ploughing, and gathering in, in order to live, and they deserve not to lack bread, which they themselves have sowed.”<sup>2</sup> Scotland, as we know from Fletcher of Saltoun,<sup>3</sup> was swarming with beggars at the period to which this passage refers; but it may be safely affirmed that in Scotland during the latter half of the 17th century there was no parallel to this ghastly picture of the brutalised labourer of France. If Holyrood, therefore, was but a poor royal residence compared with Versailles, human life, at least, was on the average less cheap and could be lived on better terms on the niggard soil and within the petty bounds of Scotland than in the brilliant France of the Grand Monarque.

If the Scottish peasant had little to grumble at, when he compared his lot with that of his fellows elsewhere, it is equally certain that the middle classes in the country had a very tolerable share of the good things of life. An Act of Parliament of the year 1447 begins as follows: “Since the realm in each estate is greatly impoverished

<sup>1</sup> *E. T.*, p. 232. <sup>2</sup> La Bruyère, *Les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle*. La Bruyère's book was published in 1687. It is impossible to render the Dantesque severity of the original of this passage, which Ste. Beuve characterises as *sublime*. <sup>3</sup> See below, p. 320.

through sumptuous clothing both of men and women, and in special within burghs and commons to landward, the Lords think it speedful that restriction hereof be made in this manner:—That no man within the burgh that lives by merchandise, except he be a person in dignity, as alderman, bailie, or other good worthy men that are of the council of the town, and their wives, wear clothes of silk, nor costly scarlet in gowns, nor furrings of martens.”<sup>1</sup> In 1471 another Act ordained “that men’s wives within a hundred pounds (Scots) wear no silk or lining but only in collar and sleeves.”<sup>2</sup>

But it was not only in dress that the upper and middle classes in Scotland gratified their tastes for luxurious living. Writing about 1527,<sup>3</sup> Hector Boece would have us believe that his countrymen had grown into a nation of epicures, whose gross self-indulgence had ruined the ancient virtue, and must speedily work a judgment. Boece, as is said elsewhere, was something of a rhetorician; but we know from other sources that there is a basis of truth in such a passage as the following:—“For quhare our eldaris had sobriete,” says he, “we have ebriete and dronkinnes; quhare they had plente with sufficence, we have immoderat coursis with superfluite; as he war maist noble and honest that culd devore and swelly maist: and, be extreme deligence, serchis sa mony deligat coursis, that may provoke the stomok to ressave mair than it may sufficiently degest; throw quhilk we ingorge and fillis our self, day and nicht, sa full of metis and drinkis, that we can nocht abstene, quhill our wambe be sa swon, that it is unabill to ony virtuous occupation. And nocht allanerly may surfet dennar and sowper suffice us abone the temperance of oure eldaris, bot als to continew our schamefull and immoderit voracite with duble dennaris and sowparis; throw quhilk mony of us ganis<sup>4</sup> to na othir besines bot to fil and teme our wembe. Attour<sup>5</sup> to continew this schamefull intemperance abone the necessar sustentation of natur, we geif us to sic unhappy laubour that na fische in the see, nor foule in the aire, nor best in the wod may have rest; bot socht heir and thair, to satisfy the hungry appetit of gluttonis. Nocht allanerly ar winis socht

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 26. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 29. <sup>3</sup> Boece’s *History of Scotland* was published that year. <sup>4</sup> Are fit for. <sup>5</sup> Moreover.

in France, bot in Spainye, Italy, and Grece; and, sum time, baith Aphrik and Asia socht, for new delicius metis and winis, to the samin effect." In 1551 it was enacted by the Scottish Parliament that owing to "the great and exorbitant dearth risen in this realm," "no Archbishop nor Earl have at his meals but eight dishes of meat, nor no Abbot, Lord Prior, nor Dean have at his meals but six dishes of meat, nor no Baron nor free-holder have but four dishes of meat at his meals, nor no burgess nor other substantious man, spiritual nor temporal, shall have at his meals but three dishes, and but one kind of meat in every dish," Christmas, Easter, Patron Saints' days, marriages, and banquets to strangers being excepted.<sup>1</sup>

It is, in truth, only the fact that in the Scotland of the 15th century there existed a society such as is here depicted, which explains another fact, whose full significance cannot be too strongly emphasised. During the 15th century Scotland produced a succession of men of literary genius which no country except Italy surpassed or even equalled. If we remember the scanty population of Scotland at this period—not probably more than a quarter of a million—we have certainly excellent reason for thinking that the social conditions of a country could not have been contemptible, which in one century produced James I., Henryson, William Dunbar, John Major, and Hector Boece.<sup>2</sup> It may be fairly questioned whether even the 18th century, the greatest in the literary history of Scotland, and the only one of European importance, shows a greater array of intrinsically higher spirits than the men just named. Dunbar can well hold his own with Burns as a natural force in creative literature; Allan Ramsay is but a prosaic figure compared with Henryson and James I. Hector Boece in the 18th century would have proved a worthy rival of Robertson, for the success with which he managed the newly-founded College of Aberdeen proves that his diffuse rhetoric was due to no lack of controlling good

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 102-3, for further illustration of the social refinement and luxurious living of the Scottish middle class of this period. Also, the *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton*, edited by Cosmo Innes, and Dr Dickson's Preface to the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, Vol. I. pp. cc-cxiv. <sup>2</sup> Boece was born about 1465, and Major about 1470.

sense, but to the example of the Italian humanists who were seeking to reproduce Cicero and Livy.<sup>1</sup> We can hardly imagine that John Major, even with the added experience of two centuries, would, like Hume, have been capable of rousing Kant from his "dogmatic slumber;" but from his strong sense and instinct for abstract dialectic, we may fairly conjecture that he would have done the work of Reid, and stimulated Victor Cousin, as he actually stimulated Cousin's predecessors at the Sorbonne three centuries before.

The society which produced such a brilliant succession could not have been confined to one corner of the country, and must have been sufficiently stable to pass on its tradition from one generation to another. It is the sensational character of the events of Scottish history that has prevented us from fully realising that such a society existed in Scotland during the 15th century. The political history of Scotland is so exclusively the story of English invasions, dethroned or murdered monarchs, barons' wars and Border forays, that it is with difficulty we comprehend how a state held together that lived such a precarious existence. When we think of the last years of the Middle Age in Scotland, it is such a figure as Archibald Bell-the-Cat who embodies for us the degree of civilisation the country had attained. Yet there is good reason to believe that that unruly noble, as Scott has depicted him, is not altogether a fair specimen of his class, and that the Scottish barons were not behind those of other countries either in manners or accomplishments.

While the cultivated class found its enjoyment in the poetry of James I., Henryson, and Dunbar, the bulk of the people had more than their fill of amusement in the annual festivals of the Church, and the miracle or mystery-plays, which, as it would seem, even the smaller burgh towns could produce on occasion. In the extract entitled "Sports and Pageants," taken from the statutes of the town of Aberdeen, we have at once a striking proof of the sound municipal life

<sup>1</sup> In his *Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen*, Boece shows to much greater advantage than in his *History*. The former is not only comparatively free from conventional rhetoric, but bears the stamp of an interesting and attractive personality.



of the country, and of a national consciousness deliberately directed towards the higher elements of a people's wellbeing. It is evident that the provision of healthy amusement for the populace seriously exercised the minds of the Scottish magistrates of the 15th and 16th centuries. As we read these municipal statutes of Aberdeen, beginning as early as 1442, we see that they never lost sight of the instruction and elevation as well as the amusement of the populace. It may be added that this regular and universal provision for the diversion of the people is another proof that at the close of the Middle Age Scotland had both the means and the leisure to hold holiday when it chose. "I have heard of thee, Haddingtoun," Knox makes Wishart say in 1546, "that in thee wold have bein at ane vane Clerk play<sup>1</sup> two or three thousand people,"<sup>2</sup> and Haddington, as we know, was no exception to other Scottish burghs in its devotion to these amusements which incurred Wishart's censure.

But the censure of these mediæval representations by Wishart emphasises a fact which the statutes of the town of Aberdeen themselves bring before us. In 1552 it was decreed that the revellings which accompanied the reign of the "Lordis of Bonacord" were not for the good of the burgh. This is itself a proof that a higher standard of social life than that of the Middle Age was now before the minds of the intelligent citizens of the Scottish towns. In 1555, several years therefore before the triumph of Knox and the establishment of the new religion, an Act of Parliament was passed forbidding the farces of Robin Hood, Little John, and the Abbot of Unreason. Apart from the question of religion, educated public opinion in Scotland, as in other countries,<sup>3</sup> had now come to regard mediæval forms of diversion as injurious to public morals, and calling for summary suppression.

Another proof that the old order was changing, and that the modern time had begun, is the fact that by the second half of the 16th century the middle class in Scotland began to play a part in the life of the nation of which their ancestors had never dreamed. Writing to Cecil from Edinburgh

<sup>1</sup> In Scotland the mediæval *mysteries* were so called. <sup>2</sup> Knox, *Works*, i. 138.

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 184-5.



in 1572, Killigrew, the English resident in Scotland, says :—  
“ Methinks I see the noblemen’s great credit decay in this country; and the barons, burrows, and such-like take more upon them.”<sup>1</sup> It was with no theory of human progress in his mind that Killigrew wrote these words; yet the distinctive characteristics of the old and the new order could not have been more clearly stated. The age of kings and nobles was now coming to its end, and that of the people had begun. It is part of the interest of the present collection that it brings into prominence the radical change that had come over the national aims and the mutual relations of the different classes of the community during the period over which it extends.

In the choice of the materials which compose this volume, the chief end kept in view was to check and supplement the narratives of the travellers already brought together. The main sources from which they are drawn are State Papers, Acts of Parliament, Church and Burgh Records, and native writers. Like the accounts of the foreign visitors, therefore, these testimonies are contemporary and first-hand. In the case of the present Volume, there was a difficulty which could not arise in the case of its predecessor. The sources from which the selection had to be drawn are so abundant that the puzzle was to know what to reject and what to utilise. It may perhaps be thought that undue space has been given to the descriptions of Scotland by Major, Boece, Buchanan, and Leslie. Yet in many respects these are undoubtedly the most interesting parts of the volume. These descriptions of the country are the most valuable portions of the Histories of these writers, and give us a picture of the general aspect of Scotland during the 15th and 16th centuries such as can be obtained from no other source.<sup>2</sup> To have them brought together, therefore, with the necessary notes and explanations, seemed to be a work that fully deserved to be done. Of the account of the Western Islands by Donald Monro, the same has to be said.

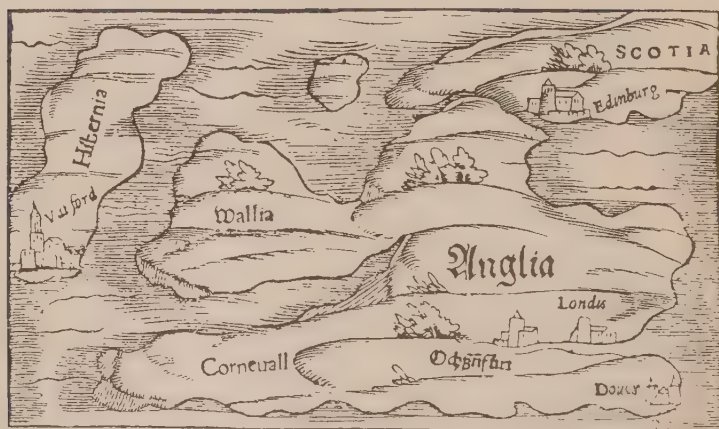
<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Killigrew to Burleigh, 11th November 1572. <sup>2</sup> The descriptions of Scotland given in Blaeu’s Atlas are not sufficiently distinctive to call for a place in a work like the present volume.

To see these islands as Monro saw them in 1549 is essential to understand the relation of the Scottish kings to the Lords of the Isles, as well as the full debt that Scotland owes to the pre-Reformation Church before the days of her decline. With this in view, therefore, the attempt has been made for the first time to identify the various islands he enumerates. Of the selections as a whole, one thing only remains to be said. It will be seen that in some cases the original language has been preserved, and in others modernised. A satisfactory reason for this distinction seemed to be that where the change has been made, the original presented difficulties to the modern reader which it was desirable to obviate in the case of such a volume as the present.

For their valuable assistance in this as in the previous volume, I have again to thank Mr David Patrick and Mr F. H. Groome. To Professor Mackinnon, Mr T. G. Law, and Sheriff Mackay I am also indebted for information on special points which occurred in the course of my work. In connection with the topographical sections, I have further to acknowledge the important help I have continually received from Mr William Douglas.

P. H. B.

*March 1893.*



MAP OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE COSMOGRAPHIA OF SEBASTIAN MUNSTER (1550).

## EARLY DESCRIPTIONS OF SCOTLAND.

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### THE SCOTTISH CHURCH IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

IN Scotland, as elsewhere, during the Middle Ages the Church filled so large a place in the national life that we can form no picture of the country without some notion of the ways and customs and standard of living that distinguished the clergy. The following extracts, translated from the Ordinances of the Provincial Councils of the Church held in Scotland during the 13th century,<sup>1</sup> throw some curious lights on this subject. These extracts authoritatively prove, what we know, indeed, from other sources, that by the 13th century the Mediæval Church in Scotland had fallen away from its ancient zeal and simplicity; while they also prove that the authorities of the Church were fully aware of this backsliding, and were not wanting in their efforts to restore the ancient piety. While these extracts clearly prove the decay of religion, they also show us the Church beset by enemies ready at every turn to take advantage of her weakness. The constant insistence on the payment of tithes, the curious precision with which the relative claims of different parishes are defined, doubtless prove that the Church had a lively sense of her temporal interests; but they also prove that it was only by keeping her spiritual weapons well burnished that she held her own even in mediæval Scotland. When, in the 16th century, she lost her hold on the national consciousness, her spoilers only

<sup>1</sup> Certain of the injunctions of these Councils are, of course, not peculiar to Scotland.

completed a work with which their hands had been familiar long before the coming of Knox.

The extracts that follow are taken from the *Ecclesie Scoticanæ Statuta tam Provincialia quam Synodalia quæ Supersunt*, published by Joseph Robertson in 1866. In selecting them for translation I had to be guided by a due regard for modern standards of taste, since there is often a frankness of expression in these statutes which the time and the language in which they were written sufficiently explain. The selections made, however, will suffice to indicate the leading ideas and interests that absorbed the Scottish Church in the 13th century, and at the same time to throw interesting light on the general manners of the period.

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*The Habit of Clerics.*—We ordain that rectors and vicars of churches and also those in positions of dignity, priests as well as clerics who are below sacred orders, be marked by decency both in mind and outward attire, that they wear not garments of red, green, or striped colours, nor garments (“panni”) that would attract attention by their excessive shortness; that vicars also and priests wear their gowns (“indumenta”) close, and wear a becoming tonsure, and that those who ought to be an example to others offend not the gaze of beholders. But if, warned by their Ordinaries, they should not amend, let them be suspended from office and be subjected to the discipline of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

*The Houses of Beneficed Clergy.*—We ordain that each church have some mansion near the church wherein the Bishop or Archdeacon may be decently received, and this we order to be carried into effect within a year at the expense of the parsons (“personæ”) and vicars in their due proportion—the maintaining of these houses, however, to lie with the vicar, since he has the use and advantage of them; and to this let him be compelled by the sequestration of the fruits of the churches.

<sup>1</sup> In the Records of the College of Glasgow for the 15th century, similar injunctions constantly occur regarding the dress of students, who had evidently a strong distaste for their academic livery, and were apt to swagger the streets in striking costumes (*Mun. Univ. Glasg.*).



*Holidays.*—We ordain that secular courts be by no means held on Lord's days and other solemn festivals, nor held in churches, cemeteries, or other places set apart to God.<sup>1</sup>

*The Life and Good Name of Clerics.*—We ordain that the life and manners of clerics be reformed, that all of them, and especially those in sacred orders, study to live continently and chastely, shunning every vice of lust; that all clerics carefully abstain from wine and drunkenness; that they practise no secular trade, especially such as are dishonourable; that they avoid all taverns, except when on a journey they are driven thereto by necessity; that they wear a becoming crown and tonsure; that priests wear close cassocks, except some just fear should demand the change or transformation of their habit; and that other clerics bear themselves decently in dress, gesture, and all things else. Let them wholly abstain from those parsons who are withheld from their duties by the General Council. We specially and strictly order priests and parsons, under risk of losing their offices and benefices, that they live continently and decently, that they banish their concubines, and for the rest hold no intercourse with them, neither in their own houses nor the houses of others, unless they wish by so doing to be deprived of their office and benefice. Advocates, if they are clerics in minor orders, or priests, we enjoin not to mingle in secular courts, unless in their own personal behalf, or in defence

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr Archibald Constable for the following curious passage in John Major (*Super Tertium Sententiarum*, Questio xxiii. Dist. xxxvii. fol. 135 verso, Paris, 1517) relative to Sabbath observance before the Reformation. I give the passage in translation:—"Many thoughtlessly take exception to many actions that imply no real violation of the Sabbath. On the common festivals men build bridges which are necessary for the public convenience, a work that cannot be well delayed; and for a pious reason. The poor, also, reap their scanty crops on Sabbath, seeing they have not the opportunity on other days. For on these other days they are perhaps forced to reap the crops of their masters. Otherwise, indeed, the poor could not well live. Similarly, smiths lawfully shoe horses [on Sabbath], and for this reason it is lawful to ride [on Sabbath], and horses might be rendered useless or suffer pain if they went unshod. Therefore, it is lawful to shoe them. With equal justification pedlars frequent churches, where everybody is in the habit of meeting, and sell girdles, purses, shoes, fruit, and other goods of the same kind. Poor farmers cannot easily attend markets, and they buy these trifles in the porches of the churches. On the Lord's day it is lawful for them to buy and for the pedlars to sell, while both alike listen to divine things."

of unfortunate parsons, but to exercise themselves diligently in ecclesiastical and divine offices, and other good studies. Let them devoutly and studiously celebrate the divine office equally by night and by day, as far as God may grant. Moreover, we ordain that every church have a silver chalice<sup>1</sup> as well as comely and decent vessels, a fair and white altar-cloth of becoming length, the linen and all other ornaments pertaining to the office of the altar fit and proper, suitable books for reading and singing, and priest's vestments alike sufficient and becoming. And because it is absurd to pass over in sacred things a filthiness that would be unbecoming in profane things, we strictly ordain that the vessels of the service and the vestments of the ministers and the coverings of the altar, and likewise the corporals, be kept fair and clean.

*Of giving Advice to Lepers.*—Regarding those affected with leprosy, and who by general consent are separated from the communion of their fellows, we ordain that when such transfer themselves to solitary places they be effectually reminded by the presbyters in their retirement that they visit the parish church according to their ability; but if they cannot be induced to this, let no force be applied to them, since affliction should not be heaped upon the afflicted, and they ought rather to be pitied for their misfortunes.<sup>2</sup>

*The Care of Infants.*—We forbid mothers or nurses to place young children in the same bed with themselves, by reason of the frequent dangers arising from this practice.

*Giving Potions to the Sick.*—We forbid anyone ignorant of medicine to administer, under the guise of medicine, potions of poisonous herbs to a sick person, and to practise any divination.

*That Laymen seize not the Houses and Goods of Ecclesiastical Persons.*—Since the goods of the Church should be

<sup>1</sup> Pope Leo IV. (847–855) laid down the rule that no one should celebrate mass in a chalice of wood, lead, or glass (Smith, *Dict. Christ. Antiq.*, i. 339).

<sup>2</sup> For secular legislation regarding lepers, see p. 23 below. The Church of St Mary in the village of Minster, near Ramsgate, had a curious provision for the spiritual welfare of lepers. In one of its walls a hole was made through which the lepers might, one by one, have a glimpse of the priests at the altar, and hear the words of the mass. This hole was known as the "Leper's Squint."

devoted to the use of the poor, and since to the laity, whose place it is to obey and not to command, no power has been given over ecclesiastical persons or goods, and since grave and serious complaint has arisen on the part both of the higher and the lower orders of the clergy, that the property of the Church is plundered and spoiled, and that monasteries in head and members, the houses of vicars, and ecclesiastical persons are laid waste and their property destroyed through the entrance of great persons and their friends and other laics, which cannot be kept hid without danger to our souls, nor passed over without connivance, but it is for us to meet such malice and oppression and oppose some wholesome remedy, with the approval of the sacred Council of the Scottish Church we decree, and under pain of excommunication from the present time ordain and forbid, all laymen, of what pre-eminence, dignity, or office soever, unless specially asked and invited—our lord the king, his children, the patron of the places (in cases allowed by law), and unfortunate persons to whom hospitality is due out of love, being alone excepted—we forbid any layman to demand hospitality or entertainment, and to quarter his men, horses, hawks, or dogs in monasteries or in the granges attached to them, in the houses of rectors or vicars or clerics, and to seize or devastate their goods, either by his own action or that of others, or by any exaction or trick against ecclesiastical persons, or to seek to assail the laws of this statute. If any layman, forgetful of his own salvation, shall rashly violate this statute in whole or in part, let him know that he incurs sentence of excommunication in the very act. Let him who has suffered the injury, under pain of suspension, denounce it to the Bishop, Archdeacon of the place, or their officials, within the space of one month, who, having discovered the truth, shall cause the offenders publicly and solemnly with bell and candle to be denounced as excommunicated in each church of his diocese on each Lord's day and festival, from which sentence they shall in nowise be absolved till satisfaction be made to the injured party and the Church at large.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At a very early date the laity began their encroachments on the possessions of the Church. Checked for a time by an admonition

*The Shutting of Cemeteries and Repairing of Churches.*—We ordain that churches be roofed in, that the walls be entire and not ruinous, that the windows be of glass and entire, that those round the chancel be repaired by the rector, and those round the church be procured by the parishioners, that clerics be compelled to this under pain of suspension from their benefices till the expense of restoring and repairing be met, and that the laity be compelled by the suspension of the services of the churches. We add that every church or chapel which can maintain a priest should have a priest suitable for the office, that it possess a silver chalice, to purchase which, as well as other things necessary for the altar, or vestments, or books, or lamps, rectors be compelled by suspension of their benefices till what is lacking have been bought, and materials likely to endure have been obtained for the churches.

*Excommunication.*—We ordain that four times every year solemn denunciation be made in all churches on Lord's days. In their kind let each of the following persons be excommunicated—fortune-tellers, incendiaries, coiners, usurers, public thieves, those knowingly hindering wills legally made, laymen detaining or invading, defrauding or unjustly appropriating the tithes or lands or other church liberties or possessions, witnesses wittingly perjured through whom some one loses an inheritance or ecclesiastical or secular good. Let no priest absolve such perjured persons without consulting his Bishop, unless the risk of death be imminent. Let the priest publicly forbid his parishioners, under the pretext of a wicked custom that has now grown up, to swear along

of Alexander II. (1242), these encroachments were renewed with greater boldness than ever in spite of King, Parliament, and the Pope himself (Robertson, *Statuta*, i. lxi.). The following passage from a letter of Dr Magnus, the English agent in Scotland, to Cardinal Wolsey, shows how the great nobles of Scotland made free with the good things of the Church:—"The good Abbot of Pasley of late shewed unto me he was likely to susteyn gret hurt and damage both to hymself and his monastery by the saide twoe erles (Angus and Lennox), if remedy were not founden and at a tyme convanient, for as he shewed unto me the saide twoe erles intended to kepe thair Christemas in his saide hous, and to use everything there at thair libertye and pleasur, booth for hors and man to the numer of 200 persons" ("Dr Magnus to Cardinal Wolsey, 22nd Dec. 1524," *Illustrations of Scottish History*, p. 3, Mait. Club).

with his neighbours against his own conscience out of affection for any person.

*That Clerics when Defamed have not Recourse to Laymen for Help.*—Because we have learned by experience that some beneficed clerics of our diocese, prodigal of their own reputation and seeking their own honour, when they have been about to be corrected for their faults by us or our ministers, following the example of Judas, the desperate traitor who, after he had betrayed the Lord, had recourse for counsel not to the apostles but to the Jews, have recourse to the laity, and specially to influential persons, so that by offering petitions for themselves and their friends they return to us and our ministers from those persons, not, as is with probability suspected, without gifts, in order that they may be able to avoid the correction of their faults, though not without disgrace, we ordain that all persons found culpable under this head shall not only lack the advantage of the afore-said petitions, but that they shall be held guilty of the crime laid to their charge, even if it be not otherwise proved.

*Of Animals which Lie Out in one Parish and Feed in Another.*—We ordain that in the case of animals which lie out in one parish and feed in another all the year through, the tithes be equally divided. But if they usually feed in both parishes and lie out only in one, let that parish in which they sleep receive three parts—the fourth part remaining with the church in whose parish they feed.

*The Tithes of Sheep.*—We ordain that, if a person living in one parish shall buy ewes in another, and shall convey them to a third in which he shall reside for some time with all the fruit of the said ewes, viz., wool, lambs, and milk, he pay the full tenth of these to his mother-church.

*Priests not to wear Hangers.*—We ordain that no priest, under pain of half a mark, carry the long knife known as a *hangar* (longum cultellum, qui vocatur *hangar*), except he be equipped for a journey.



## JOHN OF FORDUN

(1380).

THE following description of Scotland by John of Fordun, written about 1380, may be compared with that of John Hardyng, the English chronicler, written about a century later. Both writers were well acquainted with the country of which they wrote. Hardyng was three years and a half in Scotland, and appears to have seen with his own eyes the most of what he described. From his own testimony we know that Fordun took pains to be well informed of what he wrote, and actually visited England and Ireland in his search of materials for his history. We may infer, therefore, that in his description of Scotland he is drawing on his own impressions, and not reproducing the reports of others. Of the two accounts of the country, it is noteworthy that the Englishman's is the stronger testimony to its fertility and general degree of civilisation. The translation here given is that of Mr F. J. H. Skene, in his edition of Fordun, edited by Mr W. F. Skene, in the series entitled the *Historians of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1871).—Fordun, Book ii.

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### SCOTLAND IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

ALBION is an island of the ocean, situated in Europe, between the north and west; stretching, along its length, from the south, first northwards, it afterwards assumes a somewhat curved shape, inclining a little to the north-east.<sup>1</sup> Its southern and middle parts have Ireland to the west of them, while its northern lie open to the boundless ocean, over against the arctic pole. It has, also, Iceland on the north, and Norway towards the north-east; on the east, Dacia;<sup>2</sup> on the south-east, Germany or Aleman-nia; more to the south, Holland and Flanders; on the

<sup>1</sup> Fordun, of course, takes his notions regarding the shape of Britain from Ptolemy. <sup>2</sup> Denmark, which was generally known as Dacia to the chroniclers of the Middle Age.

south and south-west, Gaul and its dependencies; and Spain further westwards; and it lies hedged round by these countries, with a greater or less interval of ocean between. It is reported, also, to be eight hundred miles in length, or a little under; and in breadth across, in some of the broadest places, two hundred; in others, much narrower; for, nearly in the middle, it is only sixty-four miles from sea to sea; and it is there so much cut up by large rivers, that their head waters are nearly drawn together, but for some intricate passes over rough land, for the space of twenty-two miles, with groves, brushwood, and marshes interspersed. Whence it arises that, from the flowing down on either side of rivers so large, although they do not quite touch each other, some historians have written that it is, as it were, divided into two islands,<sup>1</sup> as will appear more clearly from the following passages. This island of Albion, therefore, after the giants,<sup>2</sup> having lost its first name, had, consequently, two names, according to these two divisions, that is, Britannia and Scotia. The first settlers, indeed, in its southern part were Britons, from whom, since that region was first inhabited by them, it got the designation of Britannia. Its northern part, likewise, had Picts and Scots for its first colonisers, and to it was afterwards given, in like manner, from the Scots, the name of Scotia.

Scotia is so named after the Scottish tribes by which it is inhabited. At first, it began from the Scottish firth<sup>3</sup> on the south, and, later on, from the river Humber, where Albania also began. Afterwards, however, it commenced at the wall Thirlwal,<sup>4</sup> which Severus had built to the river Tyne. But now it begins at the river Tweed, the northern boundary of England, and, stretching rather less than four hundred miles in length, in a north-westerly direction, is bounded by the

<sup>1</sup> Intelligent persons on the Continent held this notion till the close of the 16th century. See *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 9. <sup>2</sup> By whom, according to the legend, the country had been originally inhabited. <sup>3</sup> The Firth of Forth. In Mercator's map (1595) it is called "The Scottishe fyrrh."

<sup>4</sup> So-called because it was "thirled," or bored through by the Caledonians. This wall was built by Hadrian, and not by Severus. In assigning it to Severus, Fordun, with all the other early Scottish historians, except Buchanan, was misled by Bede. See Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 82 (ed. 1885); Buchanan, *Rer. Scotie. Hist.*, p. 5 (edit. Ruddiman).

Pentland Firth, where a fearfully dangerous whirlpool sucks in and belches back the waters every hour. It is a country strong by nature, and difficult and toilsome of access. In some parts, it towers into mountains; in others, it sinks down into plains. For lofty mountains<sup>1</sup> stretch through the midst of it, from end to end, as do the tall Alps through Europe; and these mountains formerly separated the Scots from the Picts, and their kingdoms from each other. Impassable as they are on horseback, save in very few places, they can hardly be crossed even on foot, both on account of the snow always lying on them, except in summer-time only; and by reason of the boulders torn off the beetling crags, and the deep hollows in their midst. Along the foot of these mountains are vast woods, full of stags, roe-deer, and other wild animals and beasts of various kinds; and these forests oftentimes afford a strong and safe protection to the cattle of the inhabitants against the depredations of their enemies; for the herds in those parts, they say, are accustomed, from use, whenever they hear the shouts of men or women, and if suddenly attacked by dogs, to flock hastily into the woods. Numberless springs also well up, and burst forth from the hills and the sloping ridges of the mountains, and, trickling down with sweetest sound, in crystal rivulets between flowery banks, flow together through the level vales, and give birth to many streams; and these again to large rivers, in which Scotia marvellously abounds, beyond any other country; and at their mouths, where they rejoin the sea, she has noble and secure harbours.

Scotia, also, has tracts of land bordering on the sea, pretty level and rich, with green meadows, and fertile and productive fields of corn and barley, and well adapted for growing beans, pease, and all other produce; destitute, however, of wine and oil, though by no means so of honey and wax.<sup>2</sup> But in the upland districts, and along the highlands, the fields are less productive, except only in oats and barley. The country is there very hideous, interspersed with moors

<sup>1</sup> The *Dorsum Britannia*, the watershed that divides the waters flowing east and west respectively. <sup>2</sup> John Hardyng, the English Chronicler, substantially corroborates what is here said regarding the productiveness of the country. See *E. T.*, pp. 17-23.

and marshy fields, muddy and dirty ; it is, however, full of pasturage grass for cattle, and comely with verdure in the glens, along the water-courses. This region abounds in wool-bearing sheep and in horses ; and its soil is grassy, feeds cattle and wild beasts, is rich in milk and wool, and manifold in its wealth of fish, in sea, river, and lake. It is also noted for birds of many sorts. There noble falcons, of soaring flight and boundless courage, are to be found, and hawks of matchless daring. Marble of two or three colours, that is, black, variegated, and white, as well as alabaster, is also found there. It also produces a good deal of iron and lead, and nearly all metals.<sup>1</sup> The land of the Scots, says Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> in the fertility of its soil, in its pleasant groves, in the rivers and springs by which it is watered, in the number of its flocks of all kinds, and its horses, where its shore rejoices in inhabitants, is not inferior to the soil of even Britain itself. Isidore<sup>3</sup> tells us :—Scotia, with respect to the wholesomeness of its air and climate, is a very mild country ; there is little or no excessive heat in summer, or cold in winter ;—and he has written of Scotia in nearly the same terms as of Hibernia. In Scotland, the longest days, at midsummer, are of eighteen hours, or more ; and, in midwinter, the shortest are of not fully six ;<sup>4</sup> while in the island of Meroë, the capital of the Ethiopians, the longest day is of twelve hours ; in Alexandria, in Egypt, of thirteen ; and in Italy, of fifteen. In the island of Thule,<sup>5</sup> again, the day lasts all through the six summer months, and the night, likewise, all through the six winter months.

The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish and the Teutonic ; the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 64. <sup>2</sup> It is uncertain what writer Fordun designates under this name. It is not the Greek historian Herodotus, who has no reference to the land of the Scots. <sup>3</sup> Isidore of Seville (died 636 A.D.). The *Origines*, the work to which Fordun must refer, does not contain the passage he quotes.

<sup>4</sup> Æneas Sylvius says that in Scotland at the winter solstice the day is not above four hours long. <sup>5</sup> See below, p. 49. By Thule, Fordun doubtless meant Iceland, with which Scotland was early in communication. See below, p. 46.

domestic and civilised habits, trusty, patient, and urbane, decent in their attire, affable, and peaceful, devout in Divine worship, yet always prone to resist a wrong at the hand of their enemies. The highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed nation, rude and independent, given to rapine, ease-loving, of a docile and warm disposition, comely in person, but unsightly in dress, hostile to the English people and language, and, owing to diversity of speech, even to their own nation, and exceedingly cruel. They are, however, faithful and obedient to their king and country, and easily made to submit to law, if properly governed. Solinus,<sup>1</sup> the historian, in describing the manners and customs of the Scottish nation of the olden time, says:—In its social observances, the Scottish nation was always rugged and warlike. For, when males were born to them, the fathers were wont to offer them their first food on the point of a sword, so that they should desire to die not otherwise than under arms, in battle for liberty; and when, afterwards, they are grown up, and able to fight, the victors, after drinking of the blood of the slain, besmear their faces with it. For they are a high-spirited race, of sparing diet, of a fierce mettle, of a wild and stern countenance, rugged in address, but affable and kind to their own people, given to sports and hunting, and to ease rather than toil. The Scottish nation, writes Isidore, is that, originally, which was once in Ireland, and resembles the Irish in all things—in language, manners, and character. For the Scots are a light-minded nation, fierce in spirit, savage towards their foes, who would almost as soon die as be enslaved, and account it sloth to die in bed, deeming it glorious and manly to slay, or be slain by, the foe in the field; a nation of sparing diet, sustaining hunger very long, and rarely indulging in food before sunset; contenting themselves, moreover, with meat, and food prepared from milk. And though they are, by nature, a people of, generally, rather graceful figure and goodly face, yet their peculiar dress much disfigures them.

There are also many islands, both great and small, at the

<sup>1</sup> Caius Julius Solinus (flor. 3rd century). The work to which Fordun refers is his *Polyhistor*, which was re-edited by Mommsen in 1864. Solinus was known as “Pliny’s Ape.”



back of Scotia, between it and Ireland, separated from the Orkneys by a great intervening firth; and the names of some of these are as follows:<sup>1</sup>—Beginning first from the south, there is an island, formerly called Eubonia, now Man, whose prince is bound to furnish to his lord, the king of Scotland, ten piratical galleys, as often as shall be necessary;<sup>2</sup> besides other regal services. Here is the episcopal see of Sodor.

Arran, where are two royal castles, Brethwyk (Brodick), and Lochransa.<sup>3</sup> Helantinlaysche (Lamlash, or Holy Island).

Rothsay or Bute, where there is a fair and impregnable royal castle.<sup>4</sup> Great Cumbrae, a rich and large island. Little Cumbrae, renowned for sport, but thinly inhabited. Bladay (Pladda). Inch Marnoch, where there is a monastic cell.<sup>5</sup> Aweryne (Sanday),<sup>6</sup> where is the chapel of Saint Sannian, and a sanctuary for transgressors. Rachryne (Rathlin), distant only six miles from Ireland. Gya (Gigha). Helant Macarmyk (Eileanmore),<sup>7</sup> where is also a sanctuary.

A large island called Ile (Islay), where the Lord of the Isles has two mansions, and the castle of Dounowak.<sup>8</sup>

Helant Texa,<sup>9</sup> with a monastic cell.

Colonsay, with an abbey of canons-regular.<sup>10</sup>

Dura (Jura), twenty-four miles long, with few inhabitants, but affording very good sport. Scarba, fifteen miles long, where there is a chapel of the Blessed Virgin,<sup>11</sup> at which many miracles are performed. Beside this island rushes down the mighty whirlpool of Corrievrekan. Lunga.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Skene notes that Fordun describes the islands of Scotland in much greater detail than the mainland, and is inclined to think that he must at some time have visited them. It is certain that the subsequent historians, Major, Boece, and Leslie, do not speak of the Scottish islands with the same precision as Fordun. <sup>2</sup> The Isle of Man was taken by Robert Bruce in 1313.

<sup>3</sup> Loch Ranza, in Mercator Reuensa. <sup>4</sup> For an account of this castle, see Macgibbon and Ross, *The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, i. 80.

<sup>5</sup> "Of a chapel and burying-ground, which not long since existed in this island [Inch Marnoch], there are now no traces" (Muir, *Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland*, p. 7). <sup>6</sup> By old writers Sanda is variously known as Awyn, Avoyn, and Avona. For an account of the ruined chapel of Saint Sannian (Ninian), see Muir, pp. 7, 8. <sup>7</sup> The Church of St Charnaig or Mac-Cormaig, "a very characteristic and but little wasted building" (*Ib.*, pp. 19, 198). <sup>8</sup> Dunyveg Castle. See Macgibbon and Ross, v. 297. <sup>9</sup> Texa or Tisgay, a small island south of Islay. It has the remains of a small chapel (Muir, p. 16). <sup>10</sup> Of this abbey, founded by St Columba, nothing is left (*Ib.*, p. 16). <sup>11</sup> There are still some remains of this chapel (*Ib.*, p. 18).

Luing.<sup>1</sup> Shuna. Great Seil.<sup>2</sup> Little Seil. Helant Leneow (Eilean-na-naomh),<sup>3</sup> that is, the Isle of Saints, where is a sanctuary.

Garveleane (Garveloch), near the great castle of Dunquhonle, at a distance of six miles out at sea from the other islands.

Mull, where are two castles, Doundowarde (Dowart), and Dounarwyse (Aross).<sup>4</sup> Out at sea, at a distance of four miles from Mull, is Carneborg (Cairnaburgh), an exceeding strong castle. Hycolumbkil, or Iona, where are two monasteries, one of monks and the other of nuns. There is also a sanctuary there. Saint Kenneth's Island (Inchken-neth).<sup>5</sup> His parish church is there. Kerrera.<sup>6</sup> Lismore, where is the episcopal see of Argyll at Lismore. Coll. Tiree, where there is an exceeding strong tower,<sup>7</sup> and great plenty of barley. Helentmok (Muck), that is, the Isle of Swine. Barra, where there is a chapel of the Holy Trinity.<sup>8</sup> Uist, thirty miles long, where whales and other sea-monsters abound. There also is the castle of Benwewyl (Benbecula).<sup>9</sup> Rum, a wooded and hilly island, with excellent sport, but few inhabitants. Fuleay. Assek. Skye. Lewis. Hirth (St Kilda), the best stronghold of all the islands. Near this is an island twenty miles long, where wild sheep are said to exist, which can only be caught by hunters.

Tyreym (Eileantirim). Thorset, where there is a very strong tower. Stroma, near the whirlpool of the Orkneys.

Durenys, where, at midsummer, the sun is visible at night, not shining, indeed, but as it were piercing through the gloom.

These above-mentioned islands, as well as many others, lie scattered about in the sea, on the western confines of Scotia,

<sup>1</sup> The walls of its ancient chapel, "apparently dedicated to Saint Cathan the Bishop, the uncle of Saint Blane," are almost entire (Muir, p. 21). <sup>2</sup> It had a church dedicated to St Brandan, of which only the fragment of the north wall now stands (*Ib.*, p. 22). <sup>3</sup> Eilean Naomh, or Ilachneue, the most southerly of the Garvelochs, or Isles of the sea. It has a number of ruined buildings. <sup>4</sup> These two castles are both described by Macgibbon and Ross, iii. 47, 125. <sup>5</sup> Visited by Dr Johnson in 1773. The remains of the church stand on the south side of the island (Muir, p. 28). <sup>6</sup> With no ecclesiastical antiquities (*Ib.*, 22). <sup>7</sup> This "exceeding strong tower" seems no longer to exist. According to the old *Statistical Account* there were the remains of fifteen chapels or churches in Tiree at the close of last century; now there are the remains of only five (*Ib.*, pp. 29, 30). <sup>8</sup> See Muir, pp. 52, 53. <sup>9</sup> Of this castle apparently nothing remains (*Ib.*, p. 49).

between it and Ireland; and some of these, to the north-west, look out upon the boundless ocean; whence it is believed that the inhabited world is bounded by this region of Scotia.

There are also the Pomonian islands, called the Orkneys, situated at the northern extremity of Scotia, in the ocean between it and Norway; and these are separated from the aforesaid islands by a considerable expanse of sea, although it is maintained by some that the other islands, as well as these, are called Orkneys. Their name Orkneys, or Orcades, is derived from the Greek *Orce*,<sup>1</sup> "to receive;" for there a vortex, or whirlpool, of the ocean continually sucks in and pours forth again the waters of the sea. Orcas, writes Isidore, is an island near the British sea, and the neighbouring islands have derived from it the name of Orcades. These are thirty-three in number, of which twenty are desert, and thirteen inhabited. But, in truth, if along with the Orkneys themselves we number the rest of the islands of Scotia, both inhabited and uninhabited, to wit, they will be found to be more than two hundred; while, in modern times, forty or more of the Orkneys are inhabited. In order, therefore, that these islands may be more clearly distinguished, the names of the Orkneys are given below:—

The main island, called Pomona, or Orcadia.

|                                         |                                     |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| North Ronaldsha.                        | Heleneholm (Ellerholm).             |
| Great Papa (Westra).                    | Colbansay (Copinsha).               |
| Little Papa (Stronsa).                  | Lamholm (Lamau).                    |
| Stronsa.                      Sanda.    | Glowmisholm (Glins).                |
| Auskerry.                      Eda.     | Boroway (Burra).                    |
| Stromholme (Green Holm).                | South Ronaldsha.                    |
| Westra.                      Fara.      | Flota.                              |
| Egilsha.                                | Swona.                      Switha. |
| Rollisay (Rowsa).                       | Wawys (South Walls).                |
| Weir.                                   | Hoy.                                |
| Enhallow.                      Gairsay. | Little Fara.                        |
| Swynay (Swain Holm).                    | Gremsa.                      Risa.  |
| Calf of Flota.                          | Cava.                               |
| Pentland Skerries.                      | Brough of Birsá.                    |
| Sowliskery.                             | Brough of Dernes.                   |
| Scalpandisay (Shapinsha).               | A third Papa.                       |

<sup>1</sup> There is no such word in Greek.

## ANDREW WYNTOUN

(1426).

THE following rhymes from Andrew Wyntoun's "Orygnale Cronykil of Scotland" (1426) add no detail of interest to the extract just given from Fordun, and the description they contain does not even apply exclusively to Scotland. It is clear, however, from the accent of real feeling in the opening lines, that it is as a patriotic Scot he writes, and glories in the natural advantages of "blessyde Bretayne." The lines, therefore, have a literary interest as the unsophisticated prelude of the many glowing descriptions of their native country in which the Scottish poets have always shown themselves at their best (Book i. chap. xv.).

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BLESSYDE Bretayne beelde<sup>1</sup> sulde be  
 Off all the Ilys in the Se,  
 Quhare flowrys are fele<sup>2</sup> on feldys fayre,  
 Hale<sup>3</sup> off hewe, haylsum<sup>3</sup> off ayre.  
 Off all corne thare is copy<sup>4</sup> gret,  
 Pese, and atys,<sup>5</sup> bere, and qwhet:  
 Bath froyt on tre, and fysche in flwde;  
 And tyll all catale pasture gwde.<sup>6</sup>  
 Solynus [sayis], in Bretanny  
 Sum steddys<sup>7</sup> growys sa habowndanly  
 Off gyrs,<sup>8</sup> that sum tym, bot thair fe<sup>9</sup>  
 Fra fwlth<sup>10</sup> off mete refrenyht<sup>11</sup> be,  
 Thair fwde<sup>12</sup> sall turne thame to peryle,  
 To rot, or bryst,<sup>13</sup> or dey sum quhyle.  
 Thare wylde in wode has welth at wylle;  
 Thare hyrdys hydys holme and hille;

<sup>1</sup> Pattern.    <sup>2</sup> Many.    <sup>3</sup> Wholesome.    <sup>4</sup> Plenty.    <sup>5</sup> Oats.    <sup>6</sup> Good.  
<sup>7</sup> Places.    <sup>8</sup> Grass.    <sup>9</sup> Cattle.    <sup>10</sup> Fulness.    <sup>11</sup> Refrained.    <sup>12</sup> Food.    <sup>13</sup> Burst.

Thare bewys bowys all for byrtht,<sup>1</sup>  
 Bathe merle and maŵeys mellys off myrtht;  
 Thare huntyng is at allkyne dere,  
 And richt gud hawlkyn on rywëre;  
 Off fysche thaire is habowndance  
 And nedfulle thyng to mannys substance.

On Est half it lyis Germany,  
 And all Denmark halyly;<sup>2</sup>  
 And West half Bretane is lyand  
 All hale the landys off Irland.

Fyffe wrakys<sup>3</sup> syndry has oure-tayne  
 Off [Goddys] lykyng this Bretayne;  
 Quhen Peychtys warrayd it stoutly,  
 And wan off it a gret party;  
 Syne<sup>4</sup> the Romanys trybute gate<sup>5</sup>  
 Off Bretayne; and syne eftyr that  
 The Saxonys off Ingland hale  
 Wan it, and hade the governale;  
 Syne thai off Denmark warrayd fast,  
 Bot yhit thai tynt<sup>6</sup> it at the last;  
 The Normawndys eftyr wan Ingland,  
 And thare ar lordys yhit ryngnand.<sup>7</sup>

Off Langagis in Bretayne sere<sup>8</sup>  
 I fynd that sum tym fyff thare were:  
 Off Brettys fyrst, and Inglis syne,  
 Peycht, and Scot, and syne Latyne.  
 Bot, off [the] Peychtys, is ferly,<sup>9</sup>  
 That ar wndone sa halyly,  
 That nowthir remanande ar langage,  
 Na [yit] successyown off lynage;<sup>10</sup>  
 Swa off thare antyqwyte  
 Is lyk bot fabyll for to be.

Be west Bretane is lyand  
 All the landys off Irland:  
 That is ane land off nobyl ayre,  
 Off fyrrh, and felde, and flowrys fayre:

<sup>1</sup> Their boughs are bent with their burden. <sup>2</sup> Wholly. <sup>3</sup> Five races.  
<sup>4</sup> Afterwards. <sup>5</sup> Obtained. <sup>6</sup> Lost. <sup>7</sup> Reigning. <sup>8</sup> Several. <sup>9</sup> Wonder.  
<sup>10</sup> Yet, Mr Laing notes, the name of Picts was retained by the people of  
 Galloway in Wyntoun's own time.



Thare nakyn best off wēnym<sup>1</sup> may  
 Lywe or lest atoure<sup>2</sup> a day ;  
 As ask, or eddyre, tade, or pade,<sup>3</sup>  
 Suppos that thai be thidder hade.

Be north Brettane sulde lyand be  
 The Owt Ylys<sup>4</sup> in the Se.  
 Off thame ar thre pryncipale,  
 Suppos thare be ma in the hale :  
 Orkney certis ane sulde be ;  
 The Isle off Man syne in the Se,  
 Betwene Irland and Bretany ;  
 Is Wyght anens Normawndy.  
 Yhit thretty ylys in that Se,  
 Wytht-owt thir, ma welle reknyde be.  
 And in that Se thare is an Ile,  
 That in tyll awlde tyme cald wes Tyle<sup>5</sup>  
 Thare sex moneth off the yhere,  
 That we halde for summyre here,  
 Thare for-owtyn<sup>6</sup> nycht is day ;  
 The sex moneth off wyntyre ay  
 Wytht-in that yle is ythand<sup>7</sup> nycht,  
 Wytht-owtyn ony dayis lycht.  
 Be north tha may nane erde<sup>8</sup> be  
 Fwndyn, bot a mekyll Se.

All thir landys, as thai ly  
 I have ourhalyd lychtly.  
 Quhat I have mysdone in my spelle<sup>9</sup>  
*Ymago Mundi*<sup>10</sup> kane wele telle.

No kind of venomous beast. <sup>2</sup> Beyond. <sup>3</sup> Newt, adder, toad, or frog.  
<sup>4</sup> Hebrides. <sup>5</sup> Thule. <sup>6</sup> Besides. <sup>7</sup> Constantly. <sup>8</sup> Land. <sup>9</sup> Story. <sup>10</sup> Mr  
 Laing supposes this work to have been one entitled *De Imagine Mundi*,  
 which was well known during the Middle Age.

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IT is the drawback to general histories that of necessity they unduly emphasize the sensational events of the various periods of a nation's development. The interpolation of chapters specially devoted to social phenomena are insufficient to remove the overpowering impression we receive from a vivid narrative of events. In spite of the historian's best endeavour, it is the bustling stage of affairs that is always in the foreground, and our final impression of any special period is derived from the character and career of its public men, its outstanding events, its wars and revolutions. Yet it may happen that each and all of these may be the accidents and not the essential expression of the time, and may utterly mislead us as to the deeper movements of the national consciousness. This is specially true of a period like the fifteenth century in Scotland, when political history is mainly the record of private feuds, civil strife, and external war. From the general histories of the period we carry away the impression that during the fifteenth century settled comfort and ideal interests were a moral impossibility. If, on the other hand, we have regard to the legislation of the period and at the same time take account of the national spirit as expressed in literature, we arrive at somewhat different conclusions. From the following Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, mainly passed during the fifteenth century, we derive the impression of an energetic community, fully alive to its own interests, enjoying a fair degree of material prosperity, and already plagued with those parasitic growths that inevitably adhere to the progressive social organism. In these days, indeed, when the limits of state legislation is the question of questions, it is curious to read in these Acts how boldly the Scottish Estates put their finger on such matters

as private contracts, the rearing of crops, rates of charge, and the like.

If these Acts prove that the country was really quickened by the spirit of industrial progress, the literature of the time bears equally strong testimony to the existence of a body of cultivated opinion. When poets like James I., in the earlier half of the century, and Henryson in the latter half—both, be it said, so notably distinguished by their mental delicacy and conscious art—when such poets could find an audience, however limited, we have conclusive attestation to the fact that there was a higher consciousness in the nation than its mere external history would lead us to suppose.<sup>1</sup>

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#### ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

(JAMES I.<sup>2</sup>)

1424. *The Selling of Horses*.—It is ordained that no horse be sold out of the realm till at the least they be three years old, under pain of escheat of them to the king.<sup>3</sup>

*Stealing Greenwood and Breaking Orchards*.—It is ordained that the Justice Clerk inquire at the receiving of the Indictment of them that by night steal greenwood or peel the bark of trees, destroying wood; and whoever is convicted before the Justice of such trespass shall pay xl shillings to the king for breach of law and compensation to the party injured. And also the said clerk shall inquire of breakers of men's orchards and stealers of fruit and destroyers of rabbit-warrens and of dovescotes, who shall be punished as is ordained of the stealers of greenwood.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In connection with this subject of the national prosperity of Scotland during the 15th century, see *Early Travellers*, pp. 16, 49. <sup>2</sup> As the original Scots presents some difficulty, I have thought it best to translate the Acts into modern English. <sup>3</sup> The Scottish breed of horses, Major tells us, was so small that they could not carry a man in heavy armour (see below, p. 50). Writing in 1598, Fynes Moryson also says that "the Scots would give any price for one of our English Gueldings." The native breed, however, seems to have been carefully cultivated. Froissart has some curious remarks on the price of horses in Scotland, *E. T.*, p. 12. <sup>4</sup> This Act bears out the concurrent testimony of travellers to the singular absence of wood in the Lowlands. The orchards were mainly connected with the monasteries, those of Haddington being specially famous.

1425. *Hostelries*.—For the reason that hostelries in burgh towns and thoroughfares make complaint to the king that his lieges travelling in the realm, when they come to burghs or thoroughfares, harbour not with hostellers but with their acquaintance and friends, the king of deliverance of his Council and by the consent of the three estates forbids that any liege man of his realm travelling through the country on horse or on foot, from the time that the common hostelries be made, harbour or lodge in any other place but in the hostelries aforesaid, except it be the persons that carry money with them in company, who shall have freedom to harbour with their friends, so that their horses and their servants be harboured and lodged in the common hostelries. And also it is ordained that no burgess nor indweller in burgh or thoroughfare receive or admit any such travellers or strangers except only common hostelries under the pain of xl shillings to the king for breach of law.<sup>1</sup>

*Boatmen and Ferrymen*.—The king and parliament statute and ordain that all boatmen and ferrymen shall have for each boat a wooden brig<sup>2</sup> wherewith they may receive within these boats travellers' horses through the realm without scathe or any hurt, under the pain of xl shillings of each boat from Whitsunday forth next to come.<sup>3</sup>

*The Passage between Scotland and Ireland*.—As to the passage between Scotland and Ireland, it is seen speedful by the king's council, that order be given by the king to all the lords sheriffs and all other officers on the frontiers of Scotland lying against Ireland that no ships nor galleys nor men pass out of this land to Ireland without special leave of the king's deputies that shall be ordained to each harbour. And for two causes and principally since the king's notorious rebels are reset in Irishry of Ireland. And for that cause passengers passing from thence might do prejudice to his realm. Another cause is that these men that are under

<sup>1</sup> In spite of successive Acts of Parliament for the encouragement and protection of hostelries, Fynes Moryson (1598) could say:—"I did never see nor heare that they have any publike houses with signs hanging out."—*E T.*, p. 89. <sup>2</sup> Bridge, gangway. <sup>3</sup> See p. 31, below.

Irishry subject to the king of England might espy the secrets of this kingdom and do great scathe as is before written.<sup>1</sup>

*Idlers.*—The king with consent of his parliament has statute and ordained that each sheriff of the realm within his baillery inquire diligently if any idle men that have not of their own to live upon be reset within the land after the said inquisition; the sheriff shall cause be arrested such idle men and cause them to be kept in durance till it be known on what they live and that the country suffer not scathe from them. And thereupon the said sheriff shall receive good and sure burrowis; after the which burrowis found, the sheriff shall assign xl days to such idle men to get them masters or to apply themselves to lawful crafts. And these xl days being gone, if they be found still idle, the sheriff shall arrest them again and send them to the king's prison to wait and be punished at the king's will; and that this be done as well in burghs as landwards through all the realm.<sup>2</sup>

1427. *Unfulfilled Contracts.*—Whereas it is complained to the king's council that wrights and masons take on hand at once many works which they may not nor will not fulfil at the time they promised, through the which the king's lieges suffer scathe, and the honour and profit of the land is retarded, therefore it is ordained by the king and the parliament that it be proclaimed in each town openly that no workman take more work on hand than he may efficiently fulfil after his skill, under the pain of the loss of the price of so much work to the king and the fulfilling of the work that he took on hand upon his own cost. And also where a workman either wilfully or unrightfully fails to fulfil the work he has taken on hand, that another workman of the same craft refuse not to take the work on hand for reasonable fee, under

<sup>1</sup> Ireland long continued to be the asylum of those who fled from the rigours of the law in Scotland.—*E. T.*, p. 154. <sup>2</sup> The Vagrancy Laws of England were even severer than those of Scotland. The famous statute of Edward VI. (1547) virtually converted all idlers and vagrants into slaves, with accompanying penalties that make all previous legislation appear humane. This statute was repealed two years afterwards.—Froude; *History of England*, chap. xxiv.



pain of punishment at the king's will, so that he be a workman known to have had no other work on hand.

*The Sowing of Peas and Beans.*—Our sovereign lord the king, with consent of the whole parliament, ordained that through all the realm each man tilling with a plough of eight oxen shall sow at the least each year a firloft of wheat, half a firloft<sup>1</sup> of peas, and xl beans, under the pain of x shillings to the baron of the land that he dwells in, as often as he be found guilty. And if the baron sows not the said corn in like manner in his demesnes he shall pay to the king xl shillings. And if the baron shall be found negligent in raising the fine on his husbandmen, there shall be raised on him xl shillings as oft times as he default, without remission.<sup>2</sup>

1427. *The Whelps of Wolves.*—It is statute and ordained by the king, with consent of his whole council, that each baron within his barony at the proper time of the year shall cause his servants to seek the whelps of the wolves and cause them to slay them. And the baron shall give to the man that slays one in his barony and brings the baron his head ii shillings. And when the baron ordains to hunt and chase the wolves, the tenants shall rise with the baron, under the pain of a wether to each man not rising with the baron. And that the barons hunt in these baronies and chase the wolves four times in the year and as often as any wolf is seen within the barony. And that no man seek the wolves with shooting except only in the times of hunting them.<sup>3</sup>

*Lepers.*—(It is ordained) that no leper folk, neither man nor woman, from henceforth enter or come into any burgh of the realm except thrice in the week—that is to say, each Monday, each Wednesday, each Friday, from ten o'clock to two afternoon; and where fairs and markets fall on these days that they delay their entering the burghs and go on the morrow to get their living. Also that no leprous folk sit

<sup>1</sup> The fourth part of a boll. <sup>2</sup> Camden tells us that "in the low grounds the Scots have store of pease and beans, which for the strength of their feeding are much used by the labouring classes."—*Britannia* (Gibson's translation), p. 1154. We also read that the English in their invasions of Scotland supported themselves on the beans in the fields. <sup>3</sup> See below, p. 28. Æneas Sylvius is therefore in error when he tells us that there were no wolves in Scotland in his day.

to beg neither in kirk nor in kirkyard, nor in any other place within the burghs except at their own hospital and at the port of the town and other places without the burghs.

1429. *Wrecks*.—It is ordained that of ships that break in this country, the ship and the goods shall be escheated to the king if they be of those countries which use and keep the same law of broken ships in their own lands. And if they be ships of any land that keeps not that law, and escheat not the ships nor the merchand's goods, they shall have the same favour in this realm as they keep to ships of this land broken within them.<sup>1</sup>

1431. *Salmon*.—The king and the whole parliament have statute and ordained that no salmon be sold nor bartered with any man that has it out of the realm except for English money only—that is to say, gold or silver for the one half and Gascon wine or such like good penny's worth for the other half.

1436. *Drinking in Taverns*.—The king and the three estates have ordained that no man in burghs be found in taverns at wine, ale, or beer after the stroke of nine o'clock, and the bell that shall be rung in the said burgh—the which being sounded, the aldermen and baillies shall put them in the king's prison, the which, if they do not, they shall pay for each time that they be found culpable before the chamberlain one shilling.

(JAMES II.)

1449. *Sorners and other idle Persons*.—It is ordained that for the putting away of sorners, *ourlyars*, and masterful beggars with horses and hounds or other goods,<sup>2</sup> that all officers, both sheriffs, barons, aldermen, and baillies as well within burgh as without, take an inquisition at each court that they hold of the foresaid things, and, if any such be found, that their horses, hounds, and other goods be escheated to the king, and their persons put in the king's ward till the

<sup>1</sup> In the Middle Age the law of England with regard to wrecks was the same as that of Rome—that wrecks belonged to the king if no claimant appeared within a year and a day. If even a dog escaped, the ship was no wreck. <sup>2</sup> In all probability these were gipsies.

king have said his will to them. And also that the said sheriffs, baillies, and officers inquire at each court if there be any that make them fools that are not, bards, or other such runners-about. And if any such be found that they be put in the king's ward or in his irons for their trespass as long as they have any goods of their own to live upon. And from [the time that] they have nought to live upon that their ears be nailed to the trone<sup>1</sup> or to another tree and cut off and banished the country. And thereafter, if they be found again, that they be hanged.

1450. *The Importation of Poisons.*—It was . . . ordained . . . that no kind of man nor woman of the realm of Scotland for silver or gold or any other merchandise by no manner of way should buy or bring in any kind of poison for any manner of use under pain of treason.<sup>2</sup>

1452. *The Threshing of Corn.*—It is statute and ordained by our sovereign lord the king and by advice of the lords now present with him that all manner of men that have corn unthreshed cause it to be threshed out before the last day of May next to come, under the pain of escheat of the corn to the king, that happens then to be unthreshed, as well within barns as without.

1554. *The Importation of Victual.*—For the inbringing of victuals it is ordained that strangers that bring in victuals be favourably treated and thankfully paid for the victuals. And that there be no new custom taken of them, and that there be no more victuals taken to the king's port except only as much as will serve his household. And right so if Scottish merchants bring in victuals out of England, that they be favourably treated as said is.

1455. *Bale-fires.*—It is seen speedful that there be cost<sup>3</sup> made at the east passage betwixt Roxburgh and Berwick, and that it be watched at certain fords, the which, if need be, shall make tokens by bales burning and fire. In the first, a bale to be made by the watchers of the fords

<sup>1</sup> The public beam for weighing. <sup>2</sup> See p. 4 (above). <sup>3</sup> The provision made for watching the borders. The word is specifically used in this sense.

where it may be seen at Hume, and also that the same watchers may come to Hume in their proper person, and there the bales be made on this manner. One bale is warning of the coming of any power whatever, two bales together at once that they are coming indeed, four bales beside each other, and all at once, like candles, shall be sooth-fast knowledge that they are of great power and means. As far as Haddington, Dunbar, Dalkeith, or thereby, these same tokens to be watched and made at Eggerhop Castle from [the time] they see the fire of Hume<sup>1</sup> that they fire right so. And in like manner at Soutra<sup>2</sup> edge from [the time] they see the fire of Eggerhop Castle<sup>3</sup> and make token in like manner, and that all Lothian may be warned and in special the Castle of Edinburgh. And these four fires to be made in such manner that they in Fife and from Stirling east, and the east part of Lothian, and to Dunbar, may all see them and come to the defence of the land.

1447. *Wapinschawings*.—It is decreed and ordained that wapinschawings be held by the lords and barons, spiritual and temporal, four times in the year, and that football and golf be utterly cried down and disused, and that the bowmarks be made at each parish kirk, a pair of butts, and shooting be made each Sunday. And that each man shoot six shots at the least under the pain to be raised upon them that come not; at the least 2d. to be given to them that come to the bowmark to drink. And this to be used from Christmas till Allhallowmass after. . . . And as touching the football and the golf we ordain it to be punished by the baron's fine.

*Sumptuous Clothing*.—Since the realm in each estate is greatly impoverished through sumptuous clothing both of men and women and in special within burghs and commons to landward, the lords think it speedful that restriction hereof be made in this manner:—That no man within the burgh

<sup>1</sup> Hume Castle, of which only the walls now remain, stands on an eminence near the hamlet of Hume, three miles southwest of Greenlaw. <sup>2</sup> Soutra Hill, near the village of Fala, being 1209 feet high commands a prospect of Fife and the Lothians. <sup>3</sup> Edgarhope Law. There is, however, no trace of a castle on Edgarhope at present.

that lives by merchandise, except he be a person in dignity, as alderman, baillie, or other good worthy men that are of the council of the town, and their wives, wear clothes of silk nor costly scarlet in gowns nor furrings of martens. And that they make their wives and daughters in like manner be dressed fitly and corresponding to their estate—that is to say, on the head short kerchiefs with little hoods<sup>1</sup> as are used in Flanders, England, and other countries. And as to the gowns, that no woman wear martens nor grey fur nor tails<sup>2</sup> of unbecoming magnitude nor furred under, except on the holiday; and in like manner without the burghs of worthy poor gentlemen and their wives that are within xl of *auld extent*;<sup>3</sup> and as anent the commons that no labourers nor husbands wear on the work day except grey and white, and on the holiday only light blue or green or red and their wives right so, and kerchiefs of their own making, and that it exceed not the price of xl d. per ell; and that no woman come to the kirk nor market without her face muffled or covered that she may not be known, under pain of escheat of the kerchief. And as to the clerics, that none shall wear gowns of scarlet nor furring of martens, except he be a person constituted in dignity in cathedral or college kirk, or else that he may spend ij merks, or great nobles or doctors, and this to be now proclaimed and put to execution by the first of May, under the pain of the escheat of the habit—that is to say, of the clerks by the ordinaries and the leave by the king's officers.

*The plantation of woods and hedges.*—Anent plantation of woods and hedges and sowing of broom, the lords think it speedful that the king charge all his freeholders, both spiritual and temporal . . . that they statute and ordain that all the tenants plant woods and trees, make hedges and sow broom . . . in places convenient therefor, under such pain and fine as the baron or lord shall notify.

<sup>1</sup> “They (the Scots women) dress much better than here (England), and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world.”—Pedro de Ayala, *E.T.*, p. 47. <sup>2</sup> In Sir David Lyndsay's poem entitled “The Supplicatioun directit to the Kingis Grace, in contemptioun of Syde Taillis,” we have a humorous picture of the extravagant absurdity of these “tails.” <sup>3</sup> *I.e.*, *old valuation*, as opposed to the *new valuation*, when land had gone down in value, which began in the beginning of the 14th century.



*The preservation of wild birds.*—Anent the preservation of birds and wild fowls that are fit to eat for the sustentation of man, such as partridge, plovers, wild ducks, and such like fowls, it is ordained that no man destroy their nests nor their eggs, nor yet slay wild birds in moulting time when they may not fly; and that all men according to their power destroy nests, eggs, and young of birds of prey.

*Rooks' Nests.*—Anent rooks, crows, and other birds of prey, as herons, buzzards, hawks, and *myttals*,<sup>1</sup> the which destroy both corn and wild birds, such as partridges, plovers, and others, and as to the rooks and crows building in orchards, kirkyards, or other places, it is seen speedful that they to whom such trees pertain prevent them from building, and destroy them with all their power, and in no wise let the birds fly away. And where it is proved that they build and that the birds are flown and the nests found in the trees, at Beltane the trees shall be forfeit to the king, except they be redeemed again, and they that own the said trees [shall be mulcted] in v shillings fine to the king. And that the said birds of prey be utterly destroyed by all manner of means, by all ingenuity and manner of way that may be found thereto, for the slaughter of them shall cause great multitude of divers kinds of wild birds for man's sustenance.<sup>2</sup>

*The Destruction of Wolves.*—It is ordained for the destruction of wolves, that in each country where any are, the sheriffs or the baillies of that country shall gather the country folk three times in the year, between Saint Martinmas day and Lammas (for that is the time of the whelps), and whosoever he be that rises not with the sheriff or the baillie or baron, he shall pay a wether, as is contained in the old act made thereupon. And he that slays a wolf then or any other time he shall have of each householder of the parish where the wolf is slain 1d.<sup>3</sup> And if it happen any wolf to come into the country and knowledge is gotten thereof, the country shall be ready and

<sup>1</sup> A kind of hawk. <sup>2</sup> It was doubtless this Act which gave rise to Æneas Sylvius's curious remark that "the crow is unusual in the country, and consequently the tree in which it builds is the king's property."—*E.T.*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 23.

each household to hunt them under the pain aforesaid. And he that slays one wolf shall bring his head to the sheriff, baillie, or baron, and he shall be debtor to the slayer for the sum foresaid. And he that slays a fox and brings his head to the sheriff, lord, baron, or baillie, he shall have vi d.

(JAMES III.)

1466. *The Reformation of Hospitals.*—For the reformation of the hospitals and for the helping of the failed creatures, it is statute that all the ordinaries of the realm shall warn all them that have hospitals in their dioceses, and summon them on a day by the king's and the ordinaries' letters, to the which day the chancellor or his deputies shall come with the ordinary and see the infestments and the foundations, and by the advice of the chancellor and the ordinary, that they be reduced<sup>1</sup> to their first foundation wherethrough God's service may be observed, and failed and miserable persons sustained. And where the infestments cannot be found by the advice of the ordinary and the chancellor, the fruits shall be assigned of the said hospital to poor and miserable persons in so far as the fruits are of value; and that two good men of conscience be warned by the ordinary to be with him under the chancellor for the reformation to be made.

1471. *The Wearing of Silks.*—It is statute and ordained in this parliament that considering the great poverty of the realm by great expense and cost made upon the bringing of silk into the realm, that therefore no man shall wear silk in time coming in gown, doublet, and cloak, except knights, minstrels, and heralds, except that the wearer of the same may spend a hundred pounds worth of land-rent under the pain of amercement to the king of x lib. as oft as they are found and escheated of the same, to be given to the heralds or minstrels, except the clothes that are made before this parliament. And that the sheriff of each shire and baillies of burghs take inquisition thereof and send it to the king. And that men's wives within a hundred pounds wear no silk in lining, but only in collar and sleeves, under the same pain.

<sup>1</sup> Restored.

1473. *The Importation of English Cloth.*— . . . also the lords barons remember that there was a statute made in our sovereign lord's time, whom God assoilzie, that there should no English cloth come within this realm by no merchandise, considering where<sup>1</sup> they might have good money both gold and silver for their salmon, keeling (cod), and other fishes, they have now only but cloth, which is great hurt and scathe to his highness in his custom and to his lieges that are bare of money. Therefore they counsel our sovereign lord that there be an inhibition given in this parliament that no merchant, English nor Scottish, bring in such merchandise under the pain of escheating the cloth and punishment of the person that brings it.

1478. *Masterful Beggars.*—For stainching of masterful beggars and sorners that daily oppress and harry the king's poor lieges, it is statute and ordained that the act and statute made before in our sovereign lord King James the First's time be put to sharp execution without favour;<sup>2</sup> that is to say, wherever any common sorner be overtaken in time to come, that they be arrested and delivered to the king's sheriffs, and that they forthwith as the king's justices execute the law on them as upon a common thief or riever.

*The Shoeing of Horses.*—Because the ignorant smiths, through ignorance and drunkenness, spoil and lame (spillis and crukis) men's horses through shoeing into the quick, it is statute and ordained that whenever a smith shoes a man's horse into the quick, that smith shall make and pay the cost of the horse till he be whole, and in the meantime find the man a horse to ride on to his labour till the said horse be whole. And if the horse lame through the shoeing and will not heal, the smith shall hold the horse himself and pay the value of the horse to the man that owned him.

1482. *Importation of Foreign Goods.*—For the common profit of the whole realm and to cause strangers of other realms to come within the same with victuals and needful merchandise to the support of the king's lieges, it is statute and ordained that in time to come all strangers be treated

<sup>1</sup> Seeing that. <sup>2</sup> See pp. 22, 24, above.

honourably with all favours whenever they come to any port of the realm, and that none of our sovereign lord's officers nor others his lieges trouble them nor put themselves, ships, or goods under arrest, but that they have full liberty and freedom to dispone upon their own goods, and sell them to free men without compulsion or violence ; and that no price be set upon their goods but by buying and selling with their own consent, and that no new customs, impositions, or exactions be raised or taken of them but according to the old use and consuetude. And where any victuals or merchandise come suitable for our sovereign lord, that his comptrollers or receivers, after the price be made with the strangers, shall have so much of the first and best as is needful to our sovereign's proper use, for the which they shall make thankful payment without delay ; that in default thereof the strangers be not hindered, and that in time to come no person under colour of buying to our sovereign lord use, take, or receive more goods from strangers to retail and sell again, under the pain of banishment from the realm and loss and escheat of their moveable goods.

1483. *The Discords of the Nobility*.—Anent the divisions, debates, and discords that stand among our sovereign lord's lieges, barons, and others, which is dangerous to be unstanchd both for breaking of the realm, and that they should go in unity and concord to the resisting of our sovereign lord's enemies of England, it is thought expedient by the said lords and council and our sovereign's lord's highness, to cause to be called before him and his council the great lords and put them in friendship and concord before they depart from his presence.

1485. *Extortions of Ferrymen*.—Because there are great extortions raised upon our sovereign lord's lieges, both poor and rich, by taking of double and treble fare by the ferrymen, contrary to the old act of parliament and consuetude of the realm, the lords of the Articles think it expedient that all the ferrymen within this realm in time to come be charged that they raise nor take no more fare of our sovereign lord's lieges for man, horse, or goods, but as much as

is statute and ordained before to be paid and after the old use and consuetude, and that they be ready to serve all men for that fare, so that no man be detained in default of the ferry-men.

1489. *The Mixing of Metals*.—As touching the article of goldsmiths who alloy and make false mixtures of evil metal, corrupting the fine metal of gold and silver in deceit of our sovereign lord and his lieges, that cause to be made works of gold and silver; for reformation and eschewing of the same, it is now advised and concluded that no goldsmiths shall make mixture nor put false alloys in the said metals; and to have knowledge of the said fineness of the said works that each goldsmith have a special mark, sign, and token to be put on his said work which he makes, and that the same work be of the finest of the new silver work of Bruges, and that there be a deacon of the craft of goldsmiths, which shall examine the said work and fineness thereof.

(JAMES IV.)

1503. *Green Wood and Moor-burning*.—Anent the article of green wood, because that the wood of Scotland is utterly destroyed by the fine thereof being so small, it is statute and ordained that the fine of green wood to any man for selling or burning in time to come be v li., and that both of Regality and Royalty the old fine of green wood to the destroyers of it otherwise stand in effect as before; and that the fine of moor-burning after the month of March be likewise v li. in all times to come.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUSTICE-AIRE OF  
JEDBURGH (1510).

THE following interrogations, drawn up for the guidance of Sheriffs and Baron-baillies in the reign of James IV., are an instructive commentary on the foregoing Acts of Parliament. They were framed in the first place for the Justice-aire of Jedburgh; but in all probability they were addressed to every district in the country. The early records of the Scottish Justiciary Courts are meagre and unsatisfactory, yet everything goes to show that their proceedings must have been conducted with strict regard to form and solemnity. At the Jedburgh Aire on this occasion the king himself was present.—It will be seen that the long catalogue of crimes specified in the Proclamation sufficiently proves the rudeness and coarseness of the time; yet its very length and minuteness of detail is itself the intimation of a society with well-defined aims and complex activities. The complexity of its criminal code is unfortunately too exact a measure of the civilization of a people.—(Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part i., pp. 65–7, Ban. Club.)

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If they know any treason to the king's person or the realm.  
If there be any slaughter or murder.  
If there be any fire-raising or burning within the realm.  
If there be any ravishing of women.  
If there be any theft.  
If there be any reif.  
If there be any reset of theft.  
If there be any outputters or inbringers of other men's goods.  
If there be any deliberate felons or oppressors of the  
king's lieges in any wise.

- If there be any resets, supplies, or intercommunings with the king's rebels.
- If there be any swindlers, nicht-walkers, or sornars.
- If there be any witchcraft or sorcery used in the realm.
- If there be any convocation or gathering of our sovereign lord's lieges.
- If there be any that slay red-fish in forbidden time or their fry in mill-dams.
- If there be any destroyers or peelers of green wood.
- If there be any slayers of deer, by stalking within other lords' parks.
- If there be any that maintain open trespassers.
- If there be any that use false measures of length, or measures of capacity or weights.
- If there be any that take theft-booty.
- If there be any strikers of false money.
- If any person bring home poison, and how they use it.
- If any pass into England without the king's license in time of war.
- If there be any goldsmith that makes false mixtures.
- If there be any leagues or bonds made within burghs, or if any burgess rides or routs with any lord or laird to land-ward, or if be bound to any lord in manrent.
- If any steal hawks or hounds.
- If there be any breakers of orchards or dove-cots or gardens.
- If there be any truce breakers, or any that enter into assurance with Englishmen in time of war.
- If there be any that steal other men's pikes out of their stands.
- If there be any destroyers of others' rabbit-warrens.
- If there be any mutilation or dismembering of any person.
- If there be any that lie with other men's wives and destroy their good.
- If there be any hoards found under the earth.
- If there be any slayers of hares in snow.
- If there be any within burgh that purchase lordship in oppression of his neighbours, or to litigate with them at the bar.
- If there be any person that has false money of the realm.
- If there be any masterful beggars.

ENTRIES FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD  
HIGH TREASURER (1515-1542).

A LONG with the Exchequer Rolls and the Privy Council Records the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer present the most valuable materials for the social and political history of Scotland. The following extracts, it should be said, give no adequate idea of their specific value to the historian; and they are given here simply as a specimen of the nature of these records, and as affording a glimpse into the life of the Scottish King and Court during the first half of the sixteenth century. The entries in the Accounts have of necessity but little variety, and the few specimens that follow are all that seem needed for our present purpose.

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To a runner that bore a letter to Keith Marshall for my Lord-Marshall, xvj d.

To John Balfoure, officiare, to pass with three letters and credentials of my Lord's Governor's, with diligence to the Lords Erskine, Fleming, and Laird of Keir for keeping of the King's Grace, xij s.

To Duncan, carter, to pass with xxiiij horses, making vi cartill, charged with two culverins, gun-stones, gunpowder, and certain hagbuts, out of Edinburgh to Linton, and return the same day, liij s.

To Duncan, carter, for xj carts which laboured a whole day carrying guns, gun-stands, powder, coffers, and other artillery out of the Castle and Abbey of Edinburgh to Leith: labouring a whole day, each cart in the day ix s.

Summa, iiij li. xix s.

To Peter Gilleis, Frenchman, to pay xix pioneers which laboured in the Palace a day, each man viij d.

Summa, xij s. viiij d.

To Ilay Herald, and a monk of Newbattle, which was acquainted in England, to pass with letters of my Lord Governor's to the Lord Dacre in England.      vj li. vj s.

Delivered to Matthew Auchinleck, goldsmith, to mend the hilts of the king's sword of honour, two ounces of silver, price of each ounce fourteen shillings; a ducat of weight to the gilding of the same hilts, and a light French crown for his labours.      Summa, iij li. xij s.

To David Lindesay,<sup>1</sup> keeper of the King's Grace, taking forty pounds in pension, yearly; delivered to him in part of payment thereof, to good compt,      x li.

To Lyon Herald's wife, for supporting of her in the said Lyon's absence, being in England, in v li.; and the xx day of December to himself v li., making in the whole x li. in part payment of his fee, to good compt,      x li.

For wax delivered to David Anderson for seals of certain letters of forfeiture and others concerning my Lord Governor,      xv s.

To my Lord (Governor) to play with my Lord Legate, in St Andrews, at the dice, x light Fr. crs.,      vij li.

To my Lord Governor to play at the chess in St Johnston,<sup>2</sup>      xiiij s.

To Boyntaus, fiddler, *de mandato Domini*, by Maister Gualter, *primo die Parliamenti*,      x li.

To Clarence Manne, who brought a finch out of England to Falkland, to my Lord Governor,      xxviij s.

<sup>1</sup> Sir David Lyndsay, who acted as personal attendant to James IV.

<sup>2</sup> Perth.

For ale to the watch that night my Lord Regent lodged in  
Lauder, to a part of the Footband, viij š.

——that night to the French Talbanaris<sup>1</sup> and Minstrels, that  
woke and played all that night; in all, viij š.

To Maister John Ballantyne,<sup>2</sup> by the King's precept, for  
translating of the Chronicle, xxx li.

To an "auld failzeit" man in Stirling, called Allan Stewart,  
in almshouse, xiiij li. vj š. viij d.

By a precept, to a poor man whose horse fell over the  
castle wall of Stirling and broke his neck, iij li.

To the good-wife of the house where the Herald of  
Flanders was lodged, for the housemail the time of his being  
there, iij li.

To the poor woman who had her husband slain with a  
gunshot from the Castle, xl š.

For a lute, with the case, and a dozen of strings, bought in  
Glasgow, and sent with Troilus to the King's Grace in  
Inverary, xl š.

For carriage of the King's bed to the hunting in Glen-  
artney, and for carriage of the same out of Edinburgh to St  
Andrews to the Pardoun, xx š.

To the English bowar, for a dozen of bows and vi dozen  
of arrows delivered at the King's command to Alexander  
Cavesoune; and for iij dozen of arrows delivered to the  
King's grace, for his own shooting, xx li.

By the King's precept to John, Piper of St Johnston, as his  
marriage portion with Katherine Sinclair,

I<sup>c</sup>xxxiiij li. vi š. viij d.

<sup>1</sup> Drummers (French, *tabourin*). <sup>2</sup> John Bellenden, who translated Hector  
Boece's History of Scotland into Scots.



To Walter Cunningham's wife in Stirling for a cow which the King's Grace slew with a culverin, xl š.

To William Haldane and William Browne, for the slaughter of umquhile Dick Richerstoune, a common thief, and taking of an other thief called Bartilmeor Tailzeour, xxx li.

To John Garlaw, messenger, letters to charge the Abbots of Kelso, Dryburgh, Melrose, and Jedburgh to remain in their Abbeys, substantially accompanied, well prepared, and for defence of the realm, xx š.

The last day of December, delivered to Sir Michell Dysart, and his companions, by the King's precept, to be them play-coats, against New Year's day, xv ells buckram, red and yellow, price of the ell xx d., 1 li.

To Helen Ross, to cover a Matin-Book to the Queen's Grace,<sup>1</sup> iij quarters  $\frac{1}{2}$  quarter purple velvet, and to a bag to the same, price of the ell iij li. x š. Summa, iij li. xv d.

For  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell half-quarter of red damask to line the said bag and covering with, xxij š. vj d.

To David Chapman, for binding and laying about the said book with gold, x š.

Given to Helen Ross, for viij single hanks of gold, to border the said book and bag and be knots therto, and for silk to string the said bag with, and workmanship of all, iij li. x š.

Dresses to the Earl of Lennox's two sisters, in Linlithgow, of black velvet, black satin, two French hats, two gowns of frieze, and two kirtles of satin, bordered with velvet, two collars of velvet, and two little collars, amounting to, xv li. xiiij š.

Sent to Stirling against Christmas, vij ells  $\frac{1}{2}$  ell of light

<sup>1</sup> Mary of Lorraine, James V.'s second wife.

blue purple velvet, to be a gown to Jane, the French dwarf, price of the ell lv š. Summa, xx li. xij š. vj đ.

For an ell iij quarters of blue taffeties of cord, to line the said gown with, xxxj š. vj đ.

For fustian to line the sleeves and body of her gown, price hereof, iij š. ix đ.

For an ell of green to line her kirtle, and black grey to stuff the plies of her gown with, x š.

To Thomas Melville's wife, in Falkland, at the King's command, for keeping of certain pets, and nourishing of the same, vij ells fine French black to be her a gown and a kirtle, price of the ell xxxij š. Summa, xj li. xvij š.

Summa of the King's and Queen's personal expenses, for dress, goldsmith work, &c., this month (Dec. 1539), vijj <sup>m</sup>vj li. viij š.

Delivered to Thomas Arthur (Master Tailor) to be iij play coats against Uphaly day<sup>1</sup>, vij ells half ell red, and vij ells half ell yellow, taffeties of cord, price of the ell vijj š. Summa, vij li. vj š.

Delivered to him to draw the tails of the said play coats, two ells red and yellow taffeties of two thread, price of the ell ix š. Summa, xvij š.

Given for xv ells buckram to line the said play coats with, price of the ell ij. Summa, xxx š.

Delivered to Thomas Arthur for making of the said play coats and cape, xx š.

To John Douglas of Hawthornden, for certain trees taken from him to the King's ships forth of his wood, xx li.

Given to Dunning Carpitane to buy him clothes at the King's command, vj li.

<sup>1</sup> Epiphany.

Delivered to the French Tailors, to be a coat to Serrat the Queen's French fool, vj quarters demi-grain,<sup>1</sup> and vj quarters French yellow, price of the ell demi-grain xiiij š., and price of the ell of yellow xx š. Summa, iij li. vj š.,  
Summa, iij li.

Delivered to John Mossman xj ounces quarter ounce silver to be a relic<sup>2</sup> for a bone of St Mahago,<sup>3</sup> ix li. iiij jš. iij đ.

Given to gold the said relic with, two rose-nobles, v li. vj š.

Given to him to be a relic to a bone of St Adrian of May<sup>4</sup> vj ounces quarter ounce gold of Mynde,<sup>5</sup> xl li.

To him for making of the same, vj li.

Given to him for making the other relic of St Mahago, iij li.

<sup>1</sup> Scarlet. <sup>2</sup> Reliquary. <sup>3</sup> St Machute or Machou, said to have been a fellow-voyager with St Brendan in the 6th century. Cf. *Lesmahagow*. <sup>4</sup> The ruins of St Adrian's Chapel in the Isle of May still exist. According to the legend, the saint with 6000 Hungarian compatriots were murdered (870) by the Danes, and buried in the island. <sup>5</sup> Of the mine.

## JOHN MAJOR

(1521).

AS a picture of Scotland and its people at the opening of the 16th century, the following chapters from John Major's *History of Greater Britain* have all the characters of historic truth, revealing, as they do in every line, the blunt simplicity of a shrewd, candid, though curiously limited intelligence. John Major is undoubtedly one of the interesting figures in Scottish literary history. Born at Gleghornie, near North Berwick, in 1469 or 1470, he studied at Cambridge (possibly also at Oxford) and Paris, and became a storehouse of all the learning of mediæval times. Renowned as a teacher equally in his own country and on the Continent, he addresses posterity in more than twenty ponderous volumes, dealing in the purest scholastic fashion with theology and philosophy as conceived by the mind of the Middle Age. When Major wrote, the studies of the schoolmen had ceased to interest the best minds, and the revival of classical studies had opened up new horizons for the future. That, with the new light breaking around him, therefore, Major should doggedly have gone on producing his interminable folios, is sufficient proof that he was deficient in real insight and breadth of mind. Luckily, besides his futile prelections on theology and philosophy, he wrote his *History of Greater Britain*,<sup>1</sup> which, little as he may have dreamt it, has assured him a place in the memory of his country. In range of thought and historic value, Major's history is little superior to similar works by earlier chroniclers of the Middle Ages. The extracts that follow, indeed, as the record of his own personal observation, are the only portions that communicate facts which are not more fully and accurately related elsewhere. Outside these

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliæ q. Scotiæ, per J. M. nomine quidem Scotum professione autem theologum e veterum monumentis concinnata. Venundatur J. B. Ascensio, Paris, 1521, 4to.*

chapters, almost the sole value of Major's History lies in its interest as the narrative of a shrewd observer, whose views of men and things were essentially these of the mediæval worker.<sup>1</sup>

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OF THE BOUNDARIES OF SCOTLAND, ITS CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES; OF ITS CUSTOMS IN WAR, AND IN THE CHURCH; OF ITS ABUNDANCE OF FISH, ITS HARBOURS, WOODS, ISLANDS, ETC.

IN the old days the Scots and Piets had as their southern boundary that Thirlwall<sup>2</sup> wall which Severus built at the river Tyne; but at the present day the southern boundary of Scotland coincides with the northern boundary of England. The chief city in Scotland is Edinburgh. It has no river flowing through it, but the Water of Leith, half a league distant, might at great expense be diverted for the purpose of cleansing the city; but, after all, the city itself is distant from the ocean scarce a mile. Froissart compares Edinburgh to Tournay or Valenciennes;<sup>3</sup> for a hundred years, however, the kings of the Scots have had their residence almost constantly in that city. Near to Edinburgh—at the distance of a mile—is Leith, the most populous seaport of Scotland. On the descent thither is a small village, very prosperous, inhabited by weavers of wool—which gives its name to the best cloths in Scotland.<sup>4</sup> Then there is Saint Andrews—where is a university, to which no one has as yet made any magnificent gift, except James Kennedy, who founded one college, small indeed, but fair to look at and of good endowment. Another university is in the north, that of Aberdeen, in which is a noble college founded by a bishop, Elphinston by name, who was also the founder of the university. There is, besides, the city of Glasgow, the seat of an archbishop, and of a university poorly endowed, and not rich in scholars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the kindness of Mr Archibald Constable, I am permitted to use the admirable translation of Major, made by him for the Scottish History Society.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 9. <sup>3</sup> See *E. T.*, pp. 9, 10. <sup>4</sup> This village cannot now be identified; see Mr Constable's note on the point. <sup>5</sup> The Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were founded in 1411, 1450, and 1494. As Major here hints, Glasgow College was unfortunate in its beginnings. It was not till Reformation times, a century after its foundation, that, under Andrew Melville, it became the formidable rival of its two neighbours.



This notwithstanding, the church possesses prebends many and fat; but in Scotland such revenues are enjoyed *in absentia* just as they would be *in praesentia*,—a custom which I hold to be destitute at once of justice and common sense. I look with no favour on this multitude of universities;<sup>1</sup> for just as iron sharpeneth iron, so a large number of students together will sharpen one another's wits. Yet in consideration of the physical features of the country, this number of universities is not to be condemned. Saint Andrews, the seat of the primate of Scotland, possesses the first university; Aberdeen is serviceable to the northern inhabitants, and Glasgow to those of the west and the south.

There is, in addition, the town of Perth, commonly called Saint John or Saint John's town,<sup>2</sup> the only walled town in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Now if towns in general had even low walls, I should approve of it, as a means of restraining the robbers and thieves of the realm. The Scots do not hold themselves to need walled cities; and the reason of this may be, that they thus get them face to face with the enemy with no delay, and build their cities, as it were, of men. If a force twenty thousand strong were to invade Scotland at dawn, a working day of twelve hours would scarcely pass before her people were in conflict with the enemy. For the nearest chief gathers the neighbouring folk together, and at the first word of the presence of the foe, each man before midday is in arms, for he keeps his weapons about him, mounts his horse, makes for the enemy's position, and, whether in order of battle or not in order of battle, rushes on the foe, not seldom bringing destruction on himself as well as on the invader,—but it is enough for them if they compel him to retreat.<sup>4</sup> And should the enemy chance to come off victor, then the next chief gathers another force,

<sup>1</sup> Major here speaks the feeling of the members of the University of Paris, who were exceedingly jealous of the numerous universities founded in France and other countries during the 14th and 15th centuries. Thurot, *Thèse sur l'Université de Paris*. <sup>2</sup> Hector Boece (*Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen*, Ban. Club., p. 29) says: *Perthi (nunc Sancti Johannes oppidum vocant)*. <sup>3</sup> Cf. *E. T.*, p. 47. <sup>4</sup> Jean de Beaugué, who accompanied the Sieur d'Essé in his expedition to Scotland in 1548, has some interesting remarks on the Scottish mode of warfare.—See *E. T.*, p. 64.

always at the cost of the people themselves who take part, and goes out to further combat. There are in Scotland for the most part two strongholds to every league, intended both as a defence against a foreign foe, and to meet the first outbreak of a civil war; of these some are not strong; but others, belonging to the richer men, are strong enough. The Scots do not fortify their strongholds and cities by entrenchments, because, were these to be held at any time by the enemy, they would simply serve him for a shelter; and thus it would no way profit the Scots, especially within the marches of the enemy, to possess fortified cities or even strongholds.

The ecclesiastical polity of Scotland is not worthy of comparison with that of England; the bishops admit to the priesthood men who are quite unskilled in music, and they ought at least to understand the Gregorian chant.<sup>1</sup> It happens sometimes that thirty villages, far distant one from another, have but one and the same parish church; so that a village may be separated from its parish church by four or five, sometimes by ten miles.<sup>2</sup> In the neighbouring chapels of the lords, however, they may have a chance to hear divine service, because even the meanest lord keeps one household chaplain, and more, if his wealth and other provision allow it. In war these men are not inferior to others that are laymen; mass they celebrate before midday. From what has now been said it follows that in Scotland the cures are few, but wealthy; and their wealth disinclines the curates to serve their charges in person. It would, however, be better to multiply the cures, and lessen the revenues, and the bishops should have an eye to this.

Further, in Scotland the houses of the country people are small, as it were cottages, and the reason is this: they have no permanent holdings, but hired only, or in lease for four or five years,<sup>3</sup> at the pleasure of the lord of the soil; therefore do they not dare to build good houses, though stone

<sup>1</sup> Before bursars were admitted to St Leonard's College, St Andrews, they were tested in Latin grammar and the Gregorian chant.—Lyon, *Hist. of St Andrews*, ii. 243. <sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the state of things here described by Major was one of the main causes of the Reformation. It was in these neglected parishes that the teachers of the new religion found their opportunity.

<sup>3</sup> Pedro de Ayala says three years.—*E. T.*, p. 42.

abound; neither do they plant trees or hedges<sup>1</sup> for their orchards, nor do they dung the land; and this is no small loss and damage to the whole realm. If the landlords would let their lands in perpetuity, they might have double and treble of the profit that now comes to them—and for this reason: the country folk would then cultivate their land beyond all comparison better, would grow richer, and would build fair dwellings that should be an ornament to the country; nor would those murders take place which follow the eviction of a holder. If a landlord have let to another the holding of a quarrelsome fellow, him will the evicted man murder as if he were the landlord's bosom friend. Nor would the landlords have to fear that their vassals would not rise with them against the enemy—that is an irrational fear. Far better for the king and the commonweal that the vassal should not so rise at the mere nod of his superior;<sup>2</sup> but that with justice and in tranquillity all cases should be duly treated. Laws, too, can be made under which, on pain of losing his holding, a vassal must take part in his lord's quarrel. This readiness on the part of subjects to make the quarrel of their chief their own quarrel ends often, of a truth, in making an exile of the chief himself.

England excels Scotland, by a little, in fertility, for the former country is not removed so far from the path of the sun; but in fish Scotland far more abounds:<sup>3</sup> that is, that very nearness to the sun of the other country God has made up to us in another way. You will tell me, perchance: "The northern sea is deeper than the southern, on account of the air that has been turned into water;" and that is plain enough from this sign, since the ocean flows from the north southwards. But whose ordination, if not that of the Divine Wisdom, was this—that the northern people, far from the sun, should be blessed with deep waters, and, in consequence, with waters that abound more in fish; since wherever, in sea or river, there is greater depth, there, other

<sup>1</sup> Hence the necessity for the Acts of Parliament anent the planting of woods and hedges (see p. 27, above). <sup>2</sup> When, after the death of James V., the "assured Scots" sought to persuade their vassals to take the side of the English, they found that they had counted too much on their fidelity.

<sup>3</sup> Ayala says that "*piscinata Scotia*" was an ancient proverb.—*E. T.*, p. 44.

things being equal, is greater store of fish. To the people of the North God gave less intelligence<sup>1</sup> than to those of the South, but greater strength of body, a more courageous spirit, greater comeliness. Every year an English fleet sails for Iceland beyond the arctic circle in quest of fish; and from us they buy both salmon and other kinds of fish. In most parts of Scotland you may buy a large fresh salmon for two duodenae, in other parts, however, for a sou; and for a liard<sup>2</sup> you may carry away a hundred fresh herring.

Scotland can show rivers, too, excellently furnished with fish, such as the Forth, which flows into an arm of the sea likewise called Forth, four leagues in breadth. Near Leith it has the name of the Scottish Sea, since it separated the southern Picts and Britons from the Scots. Between Saint John and Dundee flows the Tay; the Spey,<sup>3</sup> the Don, the Dee are famous rivers of Aberdeenshire. Besides these there are the Clyde, the Tweed, and many other rivers, all abounding in salmon, trout, turbot, and pike; and near the sea is great plenty of oysters, as well as crabs, and polypods<sup>4</sup> of marvellous size. One crab or polypod is larger than thirty crabs such as are found in the Seine. The shells of the jointed polypods<sup>5</sup> that you shall see in Paris clinging to the ropes of the pile-driving engines are a sufficient proof of this. In Lent and in summer, at the winter and the summer solstice, people go in early morning from my own Gleghornie and the neighbouring parts to the shore, drag out the polypods and crabs with hooks, and return at noon with well-filled sacks. At these seasons the tide is at its lowest, and the polypods and crabs take shelter under the rocks by the sea. A hook is fastened to the end of a stick, and when the fish becomes aware of the wood or iron, it catches the

<sup>1</sup> This was the common belief of scholars. Thus the well-known Hubert Languet, speaking of Buchanan and Erasmus, says:—"I can never cease wondering that such countries and climates can give birth to men whose equals in genius can nowhere be found among their contemporaries."—Hume Brown, *Life of George Buchanan*, pp. 344, 345. <sup>2</sup> "The 'escu' (Latin, *scutum*), Mod. French, 'écu.' Major's 'scutum solare' = two francs. The 'sol' or 'sou' (Latin, *solidum*) = the French shilling ('whereof ten make one of ours')." — *Cotgrave's Dict.*, London, 1650. The liard = three deniers, the 'duodena,' twelve deniers.—Mr Constable's note. <sup>3</sup> No part of the Spey is in Aberdeenshire. <sup>4</sup> That is, lobsters. <sup>5</sup> Crayfishes. See Mr Constable's note on this passage.



same with one of its joints, thus connecting itself with the stick, which the fisherman then at once draws up. But not only is there abundance of fish in Scotland, but also of salt, which is sold in equal measure with even the poorest oats, Iceland, which is destitute of wheat, is the most fertile of all lands in fish.

Near to Gleghornie, in the ocean, at a distance of two leagues, is the Bass Rock, wherein is an impregnable stronghold. Round about it is seen a marvellous multitude of great ducks (which they call Sollendae) that live on fish. These fowl are not of the very same species with the common wild duck or with the domestic duck; but inasmuch as they very nearly resemble them in colour and in shape, they share with them the common name, but for the sake of distinction are called solans. These ducks, then, or these geese, in the spring of every year return from the south to the rock of the Bass in flocks, and for two or three days, during which the dwellers on the rock are careful to make no disturbing noise, the birds fly round the rock. They then begin to build their nests, stay there throughout the summer, living upon fish, while the inhabitants of the Rock eat the fish that are caught by them, for the men climb to the nests of the birds, and there get fish to their desire. Marvellous is the skill of this bird in the catching of fish. At the bottom of the sea with lynx-like eye he spies the fish, precipitates himself upon it, as the sparrow-hawk upon the heron, and then with beak and claw drags him to the surface; and if at some distance from the rock he sees another fish, better than the first that has caught his eye, he lets the first escape until he has made sure of the one that was last seen; and thus on the Rock throughout the summer the freshest fish are always to be had. The ducklings, or goslings, are sold in the neighbouring country. If you will eat of them twice or thrice you shall find them very savoury; for these birds are extremely fat, and the fat skilfully extracted is very serviceable in the preparation of drugs; and the lean part of the flesh they sell. In the end of autumn the birds fly round about the Rock for the space of three days, and afterward, as in flocks, they take flight to southern parts for the whole winter, that there they may live, as it were, in



summer;—because, when it is winter with us it is summer with the people of the south. These birds are very long-lived—a fact which the inhabitants have proved by marks placed upon certain of them. The produce of these birds supports upon the Rock thirty or forty men of the garrison; and some rent is paid by them to the lord of the Rock.<sup>1</sup>

Scotland possesses a great many harbours, of which Cromarty, at the mouth of the northern river,<sup>2</sup> is held to be the safest—and by reason of its good anchorage it is called by sailors Sykkersand, that is, “safe sand”. Every seaboard town has a sufficient harbour.<sup>3</sup> Now Scotland is so cut up by arms of the sea, that in the whole land there is no house distant from the salt water by more than twenty leagues. In many parts Scotland is mountainous, but it is on the mountains that the best pasture is to be found. Many men hold as many as ten thousand sheep and one thousand cattle, and thus draw corn and wine from sheep and kine.<sup>4</sup> Near to Aberdeen are the Alps of Scotland, vulgarly called the Mounth<sup>5</sup> of Scotland, which formerly separated the Scots from the Picts. These mountains are impassable by horsemen. Round about the foot of the mountains are great woods. There, I incline to think, was the Caledonian Forest, of which Ptolemy and the Roman writers make mention, and in these woods is found an incredible number of stags and hinds. At that time Aberdeen was the seat of the Scottish monarchy, though the kings of the Scots were crowned at Scone.

Outside Britain the king of the Scots possesses several islands, such as, to the north, the Orkneys, which the Greeks and Latins ever spoke of with a sort of horror. More than twenty of them are now inhabited, and some are twelve leagues in length. Shetland is the most easterly, and is fifty miles in length. They produce in plenty oats and barley, but not wheat, and in pasture and cattle they abound. Orkney butter, seasoned with salt, is sold very cheap in Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> In this account of the Bass and the solan goose, it is noteworthy that Major retails none of the marvels to which Boece afterwards gave currency.

<sup>2</sup> The Moray Firth. <sup>3</sup> Ayala says that Scotland possessed seventy seaports.—*E. T.*, p. 45. <sup>4</sup> “There are immense flocks of sheep, especially in the savage portion of Scotland.”—*E. T.*, p. 44. <sup>5</sup> Loosely identified with the so-called Grampians.

Between Scotland and Ireland are many more islands, and larger ones than the Orkneys, which likewise obey the Scottish king.<sup>1</sup> The most southerly is Man, fifteen leagues in length, which we have ourselves caught sight of at Saint Ninian.<sup>2</sup> In it is the episcopal see of Sodor, at the present day in the hands of the English. There is also the island of Argadia,<sup>3</sup> belonging to the earl of Argadia, which we call Argyle, thirty leagues in length. There the people swear by the hand of Callum More, just as in old times the Egyptians used to swear by the health of Pharaoh. The greater Cumbræ is another island, rich and large. Another is the island of Arran, which gives the title of earl to the lord Hamilton. Then there is the island Awyna,<sup>4</sup> in which is the cell of Saint Aidan. In it were formerly most excellent religious, and Bede says that it ought to belong to the Britons, but the Picts made grant thereof to Scottish religious. This island lies further to the north than Bute, and is but six miles from the coast of Ireland. There is further the island called Isola, or in the common tongue Yla, an exceeding beautiful island. Therein is wont to dwell the Lord Alexander of the Isles, whom men used to call the earl of the Isles. In this island he had two fair strongholds of large extent, and thirty or forty thousand men were at his beck. This Yla I take to be the Thyle, or Thule, which was in such evil odour with the Greek and Roman writers, of which Virgil has that *Tibi serviet ultima Thule*. For, or Shetland, or Yla, or Iceland, Thule must needs have been. Now Iceland, which is beyond the arctic circle, the Romans never reached. There is further the island of Bute or Rothesay, and the island of Lismore, which gives a title to the episcopal see of Argyle. Far to the north is the island of Skye, fifteen leagues in length. The island of Lewis has a length of thirty leagues. Besides these are many other islands, of which the least is greater than the largest of the Orkneys. In that region are great lakes, wherein are islands, as Lochlomond, the island of Saint

<sup>1</sup> In 1468 the Orkneys were granted to James III., as security for the dowry of his wife, Margaret of Denmark, and were never redeemed. <sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, at Whitehorn. <sup>3</sup> In Mercator's map (1595) the name Argadia is given to the district of Argyleshire between Loch Fyne and Loch Long.—See third map in *E.T.* <sup>4</sup> Sanda. See p. 13, above. Major assigns this island a strange position; but it is clear that he speaks of the Scottish islands merely from hearsay.

Colmoc,<sup>1</sup> in which is a Priory of Canons Regular, Lochard, three leagues in length, Lochbanquhar,<sup>2</sup> Loch Tay, Loch Awe, with a length of twelve. Other islands there are too in the sea as well as in the fresh water. All these islands speak the Irish tongue, but the Orkneys speak Gothic. That great-souled Robert Bruce in his last testament gave this counsel to those who should come after him, that the kings of the Scots should never part themselves from these islands, inasmuch as they could thence have cattle in plenty, and stout warriors, while in the hands of others they would not readily yield allegiance to the king, whereas with the slender title of the Isles the king can hold them to the great advantage of the realm, and most of all if he should make recompence to others of a peaceful territory.

The mutton of the Britons is inferior to the same meat in France, and less savoury; the opposite is the case with beef;—and, as I think, the reason is this: a poor herbage makes a savoury mutton, and a rich herbage an unsavoury. I used to marvel when in the neighbourhood of Paris I saw the sheep being driven to poor pasture, and when I asked the reason, I was told that otherwise the meat would not be good. In Britain the sheep are horned, and are not gelded. Their horns are almost as the horns of stags. Near Paris the sheep are hornless. This points to the possession of a moister climate by Britain, and the islands are more moist than the other parts. For a solar écu, that is, for two francs, a large ox may be bought in the northern parts of Scotland; for five or six sous of Tours a ram; for six or seven pieces of Tours a fat capon or a goose. In the southern parts of Scotland everything is a little dearer; in the north the best of fish may be had for next to nothing.

Horses they have in plenty, and these show a great endurance both of work and cold. At Saint John and Dundee a Highland Scot will bring down two hundred or three hundred horses, unbroken, that have never been mounted. For two francs, or fifty duodenae, you shall have one ready broken. They are brought up alongside of their dams in the forests and the cold, and are thus fitted to stand all severity of weather. They are of no great size, and are thus not fitted

<sup>1</sup> Inchmahome in the Lake of Monteith. <sup>2</sup> Vennachar.

to carry a man in heavy armour to the wars, but a light-armed man may ride them at any speed where he will. More hardy horses of so small a size you shall nowhere find. In Scotland for the most part the horses are gelded, because their summer pasturing is in the open country, and this is attended by small expense; yet such a horse will travel further in a day, and for a longer time, than a horse that has not been gelded. He will do his ten or twelve leagues without food. Afterwards, while his master is eating his own victual, he puts his horse to pasture, and by the time he has had a sufficient meal he will find his horse fit to carry him further. On the sea-coast, where pasture is not so plentiful, such horses cannot be reared. Some stallions are kept by great men in stables, because these are of a higher spirit than other horses, but in the matter of riding they are neither swifter nor more willing.<sup>1</sup>

In the southern parts of Scotland forests are few, for which reason coal is burned, and stone peat or turf, and not wood, as we have said above; stone-peat is less hard than coal. Æneas Sylvius says that the Scots use black stones for fuel in an iron cradle, meaning coal or sulphureous earth by "black stones."<sup>2</sup> Heather or bog-myrtle grows in the moors in greatest abundance, and for fuel is but little less serviceable than juniper. I have here to coin a Latin word<sup>3</sup> from the vulgar tongue, because I do not fancy that the plant was to be found in Italy; but you may meet with it in the wood of Notre Dame near to Paris, though it does not there grow to such a height as in Britain. Some of our countrymen suppose the land on which this plant is found to be worthless and barren; but I, on the other hand, look upon it as eminently valuable and fruitful ground. The plant when dried after the manner of juniper makes excellent fuel, and I much prefer it to coal; but just because they have the thing abundantly, they hold it cheap. Under this plant and in its neighbourhood the pasture for cattle is such that you shall find none better.

<sup>1</sup> See Index to *E. T.*, under *Horses*. <sup>2</sup> The earliest mention of the working of coal in Scotland is said to be in a charter of date 1291.—(Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scottish History*, p. 235.) Cf. *E. T.*, p. 26. <sup>3</sup> *Haddera*.

## CONCERNING THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SCOTS.

Hitherto we have had under review the soil of Scotland, its rivers and its animals, with the islands that are situated beyond the bounds of Britain. We will now speak for a little of the manners and customs of the Scots. I have read in histories written by Englishmen that the Scots are the worst of traitors, and that this stain is with them inborn. Not otherwise, if we are to believe those writers, did the Scots overthrow the kingdom and the warlike nation of the Picts. The Scots, on the other hand, call the English the chief of traitors, and, denying that their weapon is a brave man's sword, affirm that all their victories are won by guile and craft. I, however, am not wont to credit the common Scot in his vituperation of the English, nor yet the Englishman in his vituperation of the Scot.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis the part of a sensible man to use his own eyes, to put far from him at once all inordinate love of his own countrymen and hatred of his enemies, and thereafter to pass judgment, well weighed, in equal scales; he must keep the temper of his mind founded upon right reason, and regulate his opinion accordingly. Aristotle observes in the sixth book of his *Politics* that southern peoples excel the northerners in intelligence, and that, on the contrary, northerners have the advantage in warlike virtue. In northern nations, therefore, we need not expect to find craftiness in war, or guile. But in the matter of prejudices that have their root in hatred, bear this in mind: that two neighbouring kingdoms, striving for the mastery, never cherish a sincere desire for peace. Let pass before your eye in silent review all Europe, Africa, and Asia, the three principal parts of the world, and I am much mistaken if you do not find this to be the case. Now between

<sup>1</sup> There were doubtless many thoughtful Scotsmen who shared Major's opinion as to the folly of the internecine hatred of the Scots and English; but it was not till Protestantism became a force in the country that the majority of Scotsmen began to see that a union between the two countries would be in the best interests of both. Writing in 1548, the anonymous author of the *Complaynt of Scotland* says:—"I refer to universal Christianity whether Englishmen are Saracen or Christian" (p. 164, Murray's edition). In another passage he says that the Scots should regard the English as the Greeks regarded all other nations (p. 106). But by the middle of the 16th century patriotic Scots like Sir David Lyndsay were of a different opinion.



England and Scotland a man may pass dry-shod, and both nations labour incessantly for the extension of their boundaries. And though in the number of its inhabitants, in the fertility of its soil, England has the advantage over Scotland, the Scots, truly or untruly, strongly suspect that they can make head against the English—yea, even should these bring in their train a hundred thousand foreign fighting men. And this is no empty assumption on their part. For though the English became masters of Aquitaine, Anjou, Normandy, Ireland and Wales, they have up to this date made no way in Scotland, unless by the help of our own dissensions; and for eighteen hundred and fifty years the Scots have kept foot in Britain,<sup>1</sup> and at this present day are no less strong, no less given to war, than they ever were, ready to risk life itself for their country's independence, and counting death for their country an honourable thing. And if the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Rhine, the sea itself, hardly suffice to make war impossible among nations of a more peaceful temper than the Britons, it is no matter for astonishment if the maintenance of peace is in very truth no easy matter among various kingdoms in one and the same island, each of them the eager rival of its neighbour in the extension of its marches.

Those wars are just which are waged in behalf of peace; and to God, the Ruler of all, I pray, that He may grant such a peace to the Britons, that one of its kings in a union of marriage may by just title gain both kingdoms—for any other way of reaching an assured peace I hardly see. I dare to say that Englishman and Scot alike have small regard for their monarchs if they do not continually aim at intermarriages, that so one kingdom of Britain may be formed out of the two that now exist. Such a peaceful union finds continual hindrance in each man of hostile temper, and in all men who are bent upon their private advantage to the neglect of the common weal. Yet to this a Scottish or an English sophist may make answer: "Intermarriages there have been many times, yet peace came not that way." To whom I make answer, that an unexceptionable title has never

<sup>1</sup> This sentence shows that Major accepted the mythical history of the Scots, though he did not, like Boece and Bishop Leslie, choose to relate it.

been in that way made good, whatever our historians may fable about the blessed Margaret, who was an Englishwoman. That the Scots never had more excellent kings than those born of Englishwomen is clear from the example of the children of the blessed Margaret, kings that never knew defeat, and were in every way the best. A like example you shall find in the second James, whose mother was an Englishwoman, while to prophesy about the fifth of that name, the seven-year-old grandson of an Englishman, would indeed be to pretend to see clearly into a future charged with clouds: but my prayer to God at least is this: that in uprightness of life and character he may imitate those Jameses, his father, his great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather.<sup>1</sup>

Sabellicus,<sup>2</sup> who was no mean historian, charges the Scots with being of a jealous temper; and it must be admitted that there is some colour for this charge to be gathered elsewhere. The French have a proverb about the Scots to this effect: "Il est fier comme ung Escossoys," that is, "The man is as proud as a Scot."<sup>3</sup> And this receives some confirmation from that habit of the French when they call the western Spaniards birds of a fine feather; and Dionysius, in his *De Situ Orbis*, speaking of the Spaniards, gives them this character, "that they are of all men the haughtiest." Now the Scots trace their descent, as we shall show further on, from the Spaniards, and grandchildren mostly follow the habits of their ancestors—witness the Philosopher, in the first book of his *Politics*, where he says, "The boastful man takes readily to jealousy." A man that is puffed up strives for some singular pre-eminence above his fellows, and when he sees that other men are equal to him or but little his inferiors, he is filled with rage and breaks out into jealousy. I do not deny that some of the Scots may be boastful and puffed up, but whether they suffer more than their neigh-

<sup>1</sup> It was doubtless of deliberate intention that Major omitted the name of James V.'s grandfather, James III., who was one of the least popular kings of the Scots. Leslie and Buchanan both perpetuate this tradition. <sup>2</sup> Marcantonio Coccio (1436–1536), born in the territory of the ancient Sabines, hence called *Sabellicus*. <sup>3</sup> Speaking of the national characteristics of the different countries of Europe, Erasmus says of the Scots, that their habit is to make great boast of their birth, and to claim kindred with the royal family.—*Praise of Folly*, pp. 10–12 (edit. Basil. 1676).

bours from suchlike faults, I have not quite made up my mind. Many a trifling thing is said that will not bear examination. I merely remember that Sabellicus thus expressed himself. Perchance he had seen a few Scots at Rome engaged in litigation connected with their benefices, and these men no doubt, as is customary with rivals, were full of mutual jealousy. The French speeches that I have quoted date from the time of Charles, the seventh of that name. At that time Charles had Scots in his service in his war with the English; and as Charles had at first but a scanty treasury, his soldiers were forced to seize what provision they could from the common people. With those poor people they dealt harshly, and the Scottish nobles (just as they used to do in their own country) despised them as being ignobly born; so that, first among the common people of France, and afterwards with the nation at large, they came to have this reputation of haughtiness. There sprang up at that time among the French yet another saying about the Scots. "The Scot," they said, "brings in a small horse first, and afterwards a big one,"—a saying that had its origin in this wise: the Scots soldiers had the habit, when in the field, to march in troops, just as most of the French do at this day, and that they might the more easily find quarters in the dwellings of the country people, they sent their amblers and sorry nags in front with a small body of men; and when these had once got admission, they were soon followed by the men of rank with their chargers, and the main body of the troop.<sup>1</sup> That all Britons are of a temper proud enough, I take to be established by the argument from universals—not the logical universal, but the moral, since it admits of some exceptions; but that they are prouder than the Germans, the Spaniards, or the French, I do not grant.

We will now proceed to another charge that is brought against our countrymen. It is said that the Scots were in the habit of eating human flesh, and those who bring this charge shelter themselves under Jerome, where he writes:

<sup>1</sup> According to Froissart, the Scots brought the same charge of rapacity against the French, who came to their assistance in the reign of David II.—*E. T.*, p. 13.

“What shall I say of other nations—how when I was in Gaul as a youth, I saw the Scots, a *British* race, eating human flesh, and how, when these men came in the forests upon herds of swine and sheep and cattle, they would cut off the buttocks of the shepherds and the paps of the women, and hold these for their greatest delicacy?” You cannot say that he means the Goths or the Irish Scots, because of the word *British*. Well, to this from Jerome I make answer: Even if all the Scots did so, ’twould bring no stain on their posterity: the faithful in Europe are descended from the Gentile and the infidel; the guilt of an ancestor is no disgrace to his children when these have learned to live conformably with reason. Besides, though a few Scots of whom St Jerome thus writes, did as he reports, in their own island even the Scots did not generally live in such fashion—a conclusion that I take to be proved thus: Bede, writing three hundred years after Jerome, where he treats of the first emergence of the Scots in history, and he was their neighbour, says not a word of this. Strabo seemed to attribute the custom to the Irish, and to certain savage Scots.

I further note that the English Bartholomew, in his *De Proprietatibus*,<sup>1</sup> says of the Scots “that among the Scots ’tis held to be a base man’s part to die in his bed, but death in battle they think a noble thing.” To him I make answer that this is no way to be imputed as a fault, that death in arms and in a just quarrel is a fair end for a man.

Most writers note yet another fault in the Scots, and Sabellicus touches this point: That the Scots are prone to call themselves of noble birth; and this I can support by a saying about the Scots that is common among the French, for they will say of such an one: “That man’s a cousin of the king of Scots.” To speak truly, I am not able to acquit the Scots of this fault, for both at home and abroad they take inordinate pleasure in noble birth, and (though of ignoble origin themselves) delight in hearing themselves spoken of as come of noble blood. I sometimes use

<sup>1</sup> *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, the first English encyclopædia. It was compiled by Bartholomeus Anglicus or Bartholomew de Glanville about 1240 (not 1360, the usual date given).—See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

humorously the following argument in dealing with such of my fellow-countrymen as make themselves out to be of noble birth. One thing must be granted me: that no man, namely, is noble, unless one of his parents be noble; and that it is absurd to call any one ignoble whose parents are noble. This granted me, I proceed to ask, whether Adam were of noble birth, or no. If the first—it contradicts one part of the premiss. If the second—all his children were of noble birth. And so you must grant all men noble, or all ignoble. Besides, concerning the first nobleman, I change the question, and ask, "How came he by his nobility?" Not from his parents—so much is known; and if, first of all, you call him a nobleman who is the son of one who is not noble, you contradict the premiss. Poor noblemen marry into mean but wealthy families. In this way some of the Scots ennoble their whole country. Such unions are recognised in Scotland as well as in England. But to such Scots I am wont to say, that then, their blood being mixed with ignoble blood, there is no pure nobility. I say, therefore—There is absolutely no true nobility but virtue and the evidence of virtue. That which is commonly called nobility is naught but a windy thing of human devising. Those men are termed nobles who draw a livelihood from what they possess—and by whatever means they came by their possessions—without pursuit of any handicraft, most of all if they can also claim an ancient descent, whether they won their wealth by just or by unjust means, and if it remain for generations in their family: these in the eyes of the world are noble. Hence it follows that kings drew their origin from shepherds, and shepherds again their origin from kings. The first part of the corollary is plain, and up to this point is declared. If a shepherd buy lands with his much wealth, his issue acquires somewhat, if but little, of nobility. His grandson, grown wealthier still, advances a step in nobility; but with the lapse of time riches are added to riches: the owner now becomes a mighty chief, and takes to wife the daughter of a king—who just in the same way had climbed to his present eminence. I shall now state the second part of the corollary, where one monarch drives another from his throne. The exile is forced to take service



as a soldier or to accept some other place of inferiority, and from his proud estate must sound the lowest depth. Therefore—Sabellicus asserts that the Scots delight in lying; but to me it is not so clear that lies like these flourish with more vigour among the Scots than among other people.

SOMETHING FURTHER CONCERNING THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS  
OF THE SCOTS, THAT IS, OF THE PEASANTRY, AS WELL AS  
OF THE NOBLES, AND OF THE WILD SCOTS, AS WELL AS  
THE CIVILISED PART.

Having said something of the manner of life and character of the Scots, it remains to continue the same subject in respect of their civilised nobles, as many before me have done. The British nobles are not less civilised than their peers on the continent of Europe. They form a certain community apart from the common people. Of outward elegance I find more in the cities of France and their inhabitants than among the Britons; but in the country and among the peasantry,<sup>1</sup> there is more of elegance in Britain. In Britain no man goes unarmed to church or market, nor indeed outside the village in which he dwells. In their style of dress, and in their arms, they try to rival the lesser nobles, and if one of these should strike them they return the blow upon the spot. In both of the British kingdoms the warlike strength of the nation resides in its common people and its peasantry. The farmers rent their land from the lords, but cultivate it by means of their servants, and not with their own hands. They keep a horse and weapons of war, and are ready to take part in his quarrel, be it just or unjust, with any powerful lord, if they only have a liking for him, and with him, if need be, to fight to the death. The farmers have further this fault: that they do not bring up their sons to any handicraft. Shoemakers, tailors, and all such craftsmen they reckon as contemptible and unfit for war; and they therefore bring up their children to take service with the great nobles, or with a view to their living

<sup>1</sup> This statement of Major confirms what we learn from many other sources, that the peasantry of England and Scotland had the advantage of the peasantry of France, both in intelligence and the comforts of life.

in the country in the manner of their fathers. Even dwellers in towns they hold as unfit for war; and in truth they are much before the townsfolk in the art of war, and prove themselves far stouter soldiers. Townsfolk are accustomed to luxurious eating and drinking, and a quiet fashion of life, and have not the habit of bearing arms; they give in therefore at once when brought face to face with the hard life of a soldier. The farmers, on the other hand, brought up in all temperance of drink, and continuous bodily exercise, are of a harder fibre. Though they do not till their land themselves, they keep a diligent eye upon their servants and household, and in great part ride out with the neighbouring nobles.

Among the nobles I note two faults. The first is this: If two nobles of equal rank happen to be very near neighbours, quarrels and even shedding of blood are a common thing between them; and their very retainers cannot meet without strife. Just in this way, when Abraham and Lot increased in wealth, did their shepherds not keep the peace. From the beginning of time families at strife with one another make bequest of hatred to their children; and thus do they cultivate hatred in the place of the love of God.

The second fault I note is this: The gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals—no small calamity to the state.<sup>1</sup> They ought to search out men learned in history, upright in character, and to them intrust the education of their children, so that even in tender age these may begin to form right habits, and act when they are mature in years like men endowed with reason. Justice, courage, and all those forms of temperance which may be put to daily use they should pursue, and have in abhorrence the corresponding vices as things low and mean. The sons of neighbouring nobles would not then find it a hard thing to live together in peace; they would no more be stirrers up of sedition in the state, and in war would approve them-

<sup>1</sup> In 1496, an Act of Parliament was passed enjoining all barons and freeholders that were of substance to send their sons to school till they should have acquired "perfytt Latyn." In spite of what Major says regarding the state of education in Scotland, it may be proved from other sources that Scotland was in many respects in advance of continental countries.—See my *Life of Buchanan*, pp. 12, 13.

selves no less brave—as may be seen from the example of the Romans, whose most illustrious generals were men well skilled in polite learning; and the same thing we read of the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Persians.

Further, just as among the Scots we find two distinct tongues, so we likewise find two different ways of life and conduct. For some are born in the forests and mountains of the north, and these we call men of the Highland, but the others men of the Lowland. By foreigners the former are called Wild Scots, the latter householding Scots. The Irish tongue is in use among the former, the English tongue among the latter. One-half of Scotland speaks Irish, and all these as well as the Islanders we reckon to belong to the Wild Scots. In dress, in the manner of their outward life, and in good morals, for example, these come behind the householding Scots—yet they are not less, but rather much more, prompt to fight; and this, both because they dwell more towards the north, and because, born as they are in the mountains, and dwellers in forests, their very nature is more combative. It is, however, with the householding Scots that the Government and direction of the kingdom is to be found, inasmuch as they understand better, or at least less ill than the others, the nature of a civil polity. One part of the Wild Scots have a wealth of cattle, sheep, and horses, and these, with a thought for the possible loss of their possessions, yield more willing obedience to the courts of law and the king. The other part of these people delight in the chase and a life of indolence; their chiefs eagerly follow bad men if only they may not have the need to labour; taking no pains to earn their own livelihood, they live upon others, and follow their own worthless and savage chief in all evil courses sooner than they will pursue an honest industry. They are full of mutual dissensions, and war rather than peace is their normal condition. The Scottish kings have with difficulty been able to withstand the inroads of these men. From the mid-leg to the foot they go uncovered; their dress is, for an over garment, a loose plaid, and a shirt saffron-dyed. They are armed with bow and arrows, a broadsword, and a small halbert. They always carry in their belt a stout dagger, single-edged, but of the sharpest. In

time of war they cover the whole body with a coat of mail, made of iron rings, and in it they fight. The common folk among the Wild Scots go out to battle with the whole body clad in a linen garment sewed together in patchwork, well daubed with wax or with pitch, and with an over-coat of deerskin.<sup>1</sup> But the common people among our domestic Scots and the English fight in a woollen garment. For musical instruments and vocal music the Wild Scots use the harp, whose strings are of brass, and not of animal gut; and on this they make most pleasing melody. Our house-holding Scots, or quiet and civil-living people—that is, all who lead a decent and reasonable life—these men hate, on account of their differing speech, as much as they do the English.

<sup>1</sup> For notices of the Highland dress, see *Transactions of the Iona Club*, vol. i. p. 25 *et seq.* (1834).

## HECTOR BOECE

(1527).

BORN within a few years of each other, and reared under virtually similar conditions, Hector Boece and John Major present a singular contrast in all their modes of thought and feeling. Both received their early education in Scotland, and in early manhood they were contemporaries at the same college (Montaigu) in the University of Paris. By the strictness of its discipline and its exclusive addiction to the theology and philosophy of the Middle Age, this college beyond every other stamped its inmates with its own individual character. While Major, however, in all his aims and interests remained to the end a true son of Montaigu, Boece may be fairly considered a representative of the new order of ideas that had come of the revival of classical antiquity. For Major the sentences of Peter Lombard were the beginning and end of wisdom; for Boece the orators and historians of Rome were the models to which the scholar was best advised in giving his days and nights. To realize the essential difference of their spirit we have but to read a page from each of the books now before us—Major's *Greater Britain* and Boece's *History of Scotland*. The dryness and bluntness of feeling in Major, his crabbed style and parade of logical formulas, his essentially theological view of the movement of human affairs, reveal the schoolman pure and simple. In Boece, on the other hand, we have a writer whose sole concern is to present his subject in the most attractive fashion of which it is capable. His literary conscience shows itself not in the desire to ascertain and relate facts as they were, but in his eagerness to adapt his narrative to what he knew to be the tastes and prepossessions of his readers. As was said of a later school of literary artists—his eye was never on the object he professes to describe. To



question his good faith, however, even in the cases where he adduces his own experience<sup>1</sup> in support of some impossible story, is to misapprehend the relation in which he stood to his subject. From first to last of his astonishing narrative he is in perfect understanding with his readers, and never gives a sign that he is unduly straining their credulity. The distinction between true and false was for Boece and his readers a consideration strictly subordinate to their desire for a glowing narrative which should prove to the world that Scotland and its people had a history which surpassed that of every other country in point of interest and antiquity. For Boece, therefore, his materials were simply what his pigments are to the painter—to be manipulated as he saw fit with a view to the effectiveness of his work. How he succeeded is amply proved by the fact that, more than any Scottish writer, he is responsible for the extraordinary notions regarding Scotland which were current in England and on the Continent till at least the close of the 17th century. In England he was made known through Holinshed, who embodied him in his Chronicle; and it was from Boece, as presented in Holinshed, that Shakspeare drew the plot for Macbeth, as well as those vivid touches of local colour which are a noticeable characteristic of that tragedy. It was to Boece, also, more than to any other Scottish historian, that Collins directly or indirectly owed those imaginings which he has so beautifully worked up in his *Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands*.

Translated into French by Nicholas d'Arfeville, cosmographer to Henry II., Boece found wide currency on the Continent, and to this day in France many impressions prevalent regarding Scotland are traceable to his lively fancy. In Scotland he found a translator after his own heart. It was in 1536—the year of Boece's own death—that John Bellenden's translation was published, by special command of James V. Boece's flowing periods find their perfect equivalent in the highly wrought style and carefully chosen diction of his translator; while in vivacity and hearty sympathy with his subject Bellenden has even the advantage of his original. "The cunnyng clark quhilk wrytith craftelie,"

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, in the case of the barnacles and geese.—See below, p. 90.

“quhose ornat workis my wit can nocht defyne”—these expressions with which Sir David Lyndsay describes the work of Bellenden strike even the modern reader as the most apposite that could be chosen.

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THE BOUNDIS OF ALBIOUN; WITH THE SINDRY COMMODITEIS THAIROF IN GENERALL. OF THE GRET INFIRMITEIS THAT FALLIS TO THE PEPEL THAIROF, FOR THAIR INTEMPERANCE; AND OF THE RELIGION USIT BE THAIM IN AULD TIMES.

THE Ile of Albion contenis, in the hail circumference and compas circular, MM milis; havand in lenth DCC milis, and in breid CCCL miles; as apperis weill be the fute thairof fornence<sup>1</sup> the Franche seis. And fra the fute thairof it procedis ay the more small, quhill it come to the uter marchis and last boundis baith of Ingland and Scotland: for betwix the Mule of Galloway, fornence the Ireland seis, to Sanct Ebbis Heid, fornence the Almane<sup>2</sup> seis, ar skars CLX milis in breid; and fra thens it gaderis ay mair small, quhill it be cumin to the last boundis thairof quhare it hes skarslie xxx milis in breid. It is ane richt profitable Ile; full of peple; and nocht onlie richt plentius of store and bestiall, bot of all kind of cornis in every boundis thairof, saiffing allanerlie thay boundis quhair God, of his singulare gudnes, hes ordanit maist riche minis of gold, silver, tinne, bras, copper, and quik-silver, with sic fouth<sup>3</sup> and abundance of metallis, that the samin ar nocht onlie sufficient for all maner of necessaris to the peple of the said Ile, bot ar sufficient to all uthir our nighbouris that dwellis about us, gif our peple had perfite craft and industrie to win the samin. Bot the superflew abundance of all uthir thingis necessar to the use of man, quhilk nature hes producit in our regiou, makis the peple the les industrius and crafty, deliting ay mair in sleuth than ony exercitioun; for beside the gret fouth of gers,<sup>4</sup> cornis, and bestiall in our landis, beside the gret abundance of fowlis in the air, sa gret plente is of fische in all partis of our seis, specially towart the north, that the samin is sufficient ineuch to nuris all

<sup>1</sup> Opposite to.

<sup>2</sup> German Ocean.

<sup>3</sup> Plenty.

<sup>4</sup> Grass.

our peple, howbeit thair wer na frutis growand on oure land ; as apperis be experience : for all landis that lyis about us, as France, Flanderis, Zeland, Holland, and mekill of Almany, cumis with sindry flotis,<sup>1</sup> sekand fische yeirlye in our seis ; and nocht allanerlie, be thair prudent industry, winnis fische sufficient to sustene thaimself, bot, be generall marchandice of thir fische, thay sustene the peple of all uthir cuntreis ;<sup>2</sup> passand, in the time of Lentroun,<sup>3</sup> throw the seis Mediterrane, ay selland thair fische, to thair gret proffet and winning. Mony uthir riche and precius thingis ar to be gottin in the said Ile, haldin in gret delit to the eist peple of the warld. Quhat may be said of our wol ? quhilk is sa quhit and small, that the samin is desirit be all peple, and coft<sup>4</sup> with gret price, speciallie with marchandis quhair it is best knawin. Of this woll is maid the fine skarlettis, with mony uthir granit<sup>5</sup> and deligat clathis. Heirfore I dar baldlie affirme, gif the Albanis had sic grace that thay nicht leif with concord amang thaimself, or gif thair realmes, be ony honest way, nicht cum under the empire and senyorie of ane king ; they nicht nocht allanerlie haif all necessaris within thaimself, uncoft ;<sup>6</sup> bot, with small difficultie, nicht dant<sup>7</sup> all nichtbouris and cuntreis liand thaim about, quhen ony externe or uncouth weris hapnit to invaid thaim. Thay have sa elegant stature, sa fair and lusty bodyis, that na uthir peple may be preferrit to thaim. Thay ar richt ingenius and abill, als well to letteris as uthir virtewis and corporall exercitioun of the handis ; richt hardy and reddy to all jeoperdyis baith in weir and peace, in sic maner that na thing may be difficill to thaim, gif thay leiffit<sup>8</sup> temperatlie. Thairfore the provident Beginnar of the warld hes nocht but<sup>9</sup> gret resoun maid thair region nakit and bair of winis ; knawing, be his eterne wisdom, that winis, howbeit the samin ar richt necessar to all uthir peple, ar richt skaithfull to the nature of Albanis : for thay ar gevin to sic unnaturall voracite and desire of uncouth<sup>10</sup> metis and drinkis, that thay can nocht refrene thaimself fra immoderat excesse, as apperis weill be experience ; for, throw thair crapulus<sup>11</sup> and schamfull glutone, thay ar strikin oftymes with sa dangerus

<sup>1</sup> Fleets. <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 45. <sup>3</sup> Lent. <sup>4</sup> Bought. <sup>5</sup> Dyed. <sup>6</sup> Unbought, <sup>7</sup> Overcome. <sup>8</sup> Lived. <sup>9</sup> Without. <sup>10</sup> Strange. <sup>11</sup> Drunken.

and irremediable infirmiteis, that howbeit thow wer accompanit with thaim all thair tender age, thow sall find thaim, throw thair intemperance and surfet diet, sa fowsumlie<sup>1</sup> growin in thair mid or latter age, that thay sall appeir als uncouth to thy sight as thow had nevir knawin thaim in thair tender age; quhairthrow thay sal appeir erar<sup>2</sup> misfassonit monstouris than ony naturall peple. Sindry of thaim, throw surfet diet, growis furius in thair latter age, with mony sorowfull malededis following thaim; for, as the proverbe sayis, sendill<sup>3</sup> ar men of gret glutonie sene have lang dayis, or agit with proces of yeris, becaus thair excessive and intemperat diet consumis al the substanciall humouris of thair bodyis. Bot we wil return to our purpos. The Albanis, as writis Cesar, in his Commentaris, and Cornelius Tacitus, wer richt religious, eftir the rite that wes in thay dayis; for in thay dayis wer the preistis of Britane, namit Driades, richt expert baith in naturall and morall philosophie. Be thair doctrine, come the first sculis of thair sect and opinion in France. The principall sect of thir preistis wes in the Ile of Man, quhilk wes in that time the spectacle and fontane of all honest eruditioun and letteris; and, fra thir preistis wer anis profest in Catholik faith, thay perseverit with gret constance in it, but ony spot of herise.

The Pichtis had sum time the principall and maist plenteus boundis of al the landis that ar now under the empire of Scottis; eftir that thay had rongin<sup>4</sup> in the samin, M.CLI yeris, under ane blude, amite, and freindschip with Scottis: concurrand with thaim equalie in every danger and jeoperde of battall aganis the Romanis and Britonis; and sum times fechtand aganis the Scottis, thair awin confederat freindis, be unprudence of young and suspect personis: quhil at last, be outragius and exorbitant haitrent, rais sic slauchter and murdir on all sidis, that thay wer brocht to uter rewine, and doun<sup>5</sup> out of Albion, be the weris of Scottis. And thocht the Scottis hes bene oftimes brokin with maist terrible and dangerus weris of mony scharp ennimes, yit, be divine benevolence, thay fluris<sup>6</sup> hail unto thir dayis, and hes dantit al thair ennimes. Thir commodites, quhilkis ar now schawin generalie of Albion, ar patent, with mony uthir singulare

<sup>1</sup> Loathsomely. <sup>2</sup> Rather. <sup>3</sup> Seldom. <sup>4</sup> Reigned. <sup>5</sup> Driven. <sup>6</sup> Flourish.

prerogativis, speciallie among the Scottis in the Hieland: for the peple thairof hes na repair with marchandis of uncouth<sup>1</sup> realmes; and, becaus thay ar nocht corruppit, nor mingit<sup>2</sup> with uncouth blude, thay ar the more strang and rude, and may suffir mair hungir, walking, and distres, than ony uthir peple of Albion; maist hardy at jeoperdyis; richt agill and deliver<sup>3</sup> of bodyis; richt ingenius to every new inventioun; maist sichty<sup>4</sup> in craft of chevalrie; and kepis thair faith and promes with maist severite and constance. Scotland hes the Mers, quhilk wes sum time the maist plenteus regioun of Pichtis, for thair marche, fornence the Almane seis. This regioun, sa lang as it wes inhabit be Pichtis, wes namit Deere;<sup>5</sup> and, eftir the expulsioun of Pichtis, it wes namit the Mers, that is to say, the marchis; for the Scottis, eftir the expulsioun of Pichtis, ekit thair marchis to Tweid, quhilk devides Northumbirland fra the Mers. On the tothir side, sindry small burnis descendis fra the hillis of Cheviot, and uthir montanis liand thair about, deviding Cumbir fra Annandail, and fallis in the watter of Sulway. This watter of Sulway rinnis in the Ireland seis, and is the marche of Scotland, fornence the west bourdouris. The hillis of Cheviot, fra quhilk springis mony small burnis on ilk side, makis the middil marche of Scotland. The Mers hes sindry marchis at sindry partis quhair it is extendit. Sum time it hes the Almane seis; sum time Eist Louthiane; sum time, Tweid; and sum time Forth for the marchis. Among mony strang castellis in the Mers is the town and castell of Berwik, sum time namit Ordolutium, and the inhabitantis thairof namit Ordoluce. Tweid first springis fra ane small fontane, and, be agmentation of uthir watteris that fallis in it, it discendis with braid stremes in the Almane seis. Beyound Tweid, to the middill marche under Cheviot, lyis Tevidale, that is to say, the vale of Tyf.<sup>6</sup> Beyound it lyis Esdail, the vale of Esk; for Esk rinnis throw the middis thairof. Fornens Esdail, on the tothir side, lyis Eusdail, namit fra the watter of Eus,<sup>7</sup> and fallis in the watter of Annand:<sup>8</sup> bot Tyf and Esk

<sup>1</sup> Foreign. <sup>2</sup> Mixed. <sup>3</sup> Nimble. "And wonderly *delyvere*, and gret 'of strengthe."—Chaucer, *Prologue*, line 83. <sup>4</sup> Skilful. <sup>5</sup> Deira. <sup>6</sup> Teviot. <sup>7</sup> Ewes. <sup>8</sup> This should, of course, be the Esk.



fallis in Tweid. On the tothir side, fornence the Ireland seis, lyis Annandail, fra the watter of Annand. It marchis sum times with the out boundis of Nidisdail, quhair all thir thre rivers forsaide, Eus, Annand, and Sulway, discendis togidder, under ane streame, in the Ireland seis. In Annandail is ane loch namit Lochmaben, five milis of lenth, and foure of breid, full of uncouth fische.<sup>1</sup> Beside this loch is ane castell, under the same name, maid to dant the incursion of thevis. For nocht allanerlie in Annandail, bot in all the dalis afore rehersit, ar mony strang and wekit thevis, invading the cuntre with perpetuall thift, reif, and slauchter, quhen thay se ony trublus time. Thir thevis, becaus thay have Inglismen thair perpetuall ennimes, liand dry marche apon thair nixt bordour, invadis Ingland with continewal weris, or ellis with quiet thift; and leiffis<sup>2</sup> ay ane pure and miserabil life. In the time of peace, thay ar so accustomit with thift that thay can nocht desist, bot invadis the cuntre, (howbeit thay ar ay miserabilie put down,) with ithand heirschippis.<sup>3</sup> Mony riche and plentuus boundis of Scotland lyis waist, for feir of thair invasion. Nocht far fra Sulway ar mony sinkand sandis, sa perilus, that na peple may transport thaim self throw the samin, but gret difficulte and danger of thair livis. This vale of Annand wes sum time namit Ordovitia, and the pepill namit Ordovices; quhais cruelteis wes sa gret, that thay abhorrit nocht to eit the flesche of yoldin<sup>4</sup> prisoneris. The wivis usit to slay thair husbandis, quhen thay wer found cowartis, or discomfist be thair ennimes; to gif occasioun to otheris to be more bald and hardy quhen danger occurrit: Quhill at last thay wer finalie distroyit be the weris of Romanis. On the west borduris, to the gret north, lyis Nidisdail, namit fra the water of Nith. It beginnis with ane narow and strait hals,<sup>5</sup> and inccressis mair braid, quhair it lyis to the middil marchis of Scotland. In Nidisdail is the toun of Dunfreis, quhair mony small and deligat quhitis<sup>6</sup> ar maid, haldin in gret dainte to marchandis of uncouth realmes.

Abone Nidisdail is Galloway, namit sum time Brigantia,

<sup>1</sup> The Vendace (*Coregonus Vandescius*) is found only in Lochmaben and certain Swedish lakes. It is now scarce in Lochmaben. <sup>2</sup> Live. <sup>3</sup> Rapid forays.

<sup>4</sup> Yielded. <sup>5</sup> Neck. <sup>6</sup> White woollen cloth.

and the peple thairof namit Brigandis. This region is devidit be the watter of Cre<sup>1</sup> in two partis: the part that lyis nerest to Nidisdaill, is callit Nethir Galloway; the tothir part, that lyis abone Cre, is callit Uvir Galloway. In Nethir Galloway is Kirkcoubrie, ane riche toun, full of marchandice. In Uver Galloway is the abbay of Quhittern,<sup>2</sup> dédicat to the haly bischop Sanct Niniane; quhair his blissit body restis in gret veneratioun of peple. Abone Quhittern is the toun of Wigtoun; and nocht far fra it, is the loch of Myrtoun.<sup>3</sup> The half of this loch fresis be naturall congelatioun, as utheris lochis dois; the tothir half fresis nevir. In Galloway ar two uthir lochis, Salset<sup>4</sup> and Newtramen, of sik like lenth and breid as Loch Myrtoun. Galloway rinnis, with ane gret snout<sup>5</sup> of craggis, be lang passage, in the Ireland seis. This snout is callit be the peple, the Mulis Nuk;<sup>6</sup> and, be the cruikin of it in the seis, it makis two gret lochis, namit be the pepil, Loch Reane,<sup>7</sup> and Lowis.<sup>8</sup> Sum of thir lochis ar xxx, and sum xvi, milis of lenth. Thay ar baith ful of ostreis,<sup>9</sup> hering, congir ellis, mussillis, and coklis, with mony uthir fische. Sum men haldis, that Brigance wes the samin regioun of Ingland that is now callit Walis, quhair the Britonis leiffit mony yeris eftir that thay wer dounge out of Britane: bot this opinion is vane; for the Romane auctouris sayis, the Ile of Man lyis fornence Brigance, and is mid passage betwix it and Ireland, as yit apperis be experience. And howbeit the brayis,<sup>10</sup> be alluvioun and flux of seis, ar worne, and mair distant fra uthir than thay wer afore, yit the samin latitude and elevatioun of the pole that Ptolome assignis to Brigance, correspondis weil to the elevatioun of the pole abone Galloway, quhilk is distant and severit be lang jurnay fra Walis; for the Ile of Man lyis thre hundreth milis fra Walis, in the sicht of Galloway. Attoure,<sup>11</sup> be testimoniall of sindry auctouris, we say, that out of Brigance, the toun of Spanye quhilk is now namit Compostella, come ane new cumpany of peple in Ireland, and wer namit Spanyeartis; and out of Ireland come ane gret cumpany of the same pepill,

<sup>1</sup> Cree. <sup>2</sup> Whithorn. <sup>3</sup> In Blaeu's Atlas, Whytloch of Mertown. There is a clachan called Myreton near the said loch. <sup>4</sup> Souleseat Loch, formerly known as the Green Loch, in parish of Inch, Wigtonshire. <sup>5</sup> Promontory. <sup>6</sup> Neuk of the Mull (of Galloway). <sup>7</sup> Ryan. <sup>8</sup> Luce Bay. <sup>9</sup> Oysters. <sup>10</sup> Banks. <sup>11</sup> Further.

with King Fergus, in Albioun; and, in remembrance of the ciete of Brigance, quhilk wes sum time be thaim inhabit in Spanye, thai war all callit Brigandis. To this opinion applaudis Cornelius Tacitus, saying, the Brigandis wer descendit of the Spanyeartis, and dwellis in the remot and last boundis of Britane; for he callis Britane the hail Ile of Albioun.<sup>1</sup> Thir regionis afore rehersit, that is to say, Annandail, Nidisdail, and Galloway, nocht allanerlie aboundis in fine woll and store of bestiall, bot ar richt profitable in all maner of cornis, except quhiet. Abone Galloway is Carrik, ane part of Silurie; for Silurie is devidit in thre partis, that is to say, Carrik, Kyle, and Cunninghame. In Carrik wes sum time ane riche ciete under the same name; quhais ruinus wallis schawis the gret magnificence thairrof. In this cuntre ar mony strang castellis, richt strenthy baith be nature and craft of men. In this region ar mony fair ky and oxin, of quhilk the flesche is richt delicius and tender; the talloun<sup>2</sup> of thair wambis is sa sappy, that it fresis nevir, bot flowis ay, be nature of the self,<sup>3</sup> in maner of oulie.<sup>4</sup> Beyond Carrik is Kyle, namit fra Coyll, King of Britonis, quhilk wes slane in the said regioun. In Kyle is ane stane, nocht XII milis fra the toun of Air, xxx fut of hicht, and thre ellis of breid, callit be the peple the Deif Stane; for quhen ane man is at the fut of it, he may nothir heir quhat is said nor done on the tothir side, howbeit ane cannon wer schot at it; nochttheles, ay the more he standis a dreich<sup>5</sup> fra it, he heris ay the better. Nixt Kyle is Cunninghame, the thrid part of Silurie; quhais peple wer maist noisum to Romanis. In Kyle is ane loch namit Doune,<sup>6</sup> fra quhilk discendis the watter under the same name, and rinnis in the Ireland seis. In Cunninghame is ane loch namit Garnoth,<sup>7</sup> nocht unlike to Loch Doun, full of fische; and nocht far fra it is the toun of Largis, quhare sum time faucht King Alexander the Thrid, with gret glore of victorie, aganis the Danis.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From what has been said regarding Boece's notions of Scottish history, it would be a needless task to check the statements here made. <sup>2</sup> Tallow.

<sup>3</sup> Same. <sup>4</sup> Oil. <sup>5</sup> At a distance. Sir William Brereton, who visited Scotland in 1636, notices this stone, which he says bore the name of the Ringing Rock.—*E.T.*, p. 149. <sup>6</sup> Doon. <sup>7</sup> Garnock. There is a Garnock river, the loch being called Kilbirnie. <sup>8</sup> The battle of Largs, fought in 1263.

The watter of Clyde devides the Lennox, on the north side, fra the barony of Renfrew; and risis out of the samin montane within the wod of Calidone, fra quhilk risis Annand; and discendis with lang passage in the Ireland seis. Not far fra the fontanis of Clyde springis the fontanis of Tweed, quhilk discendis, with ample and braid boundis, in the Almane seis. On the tothir side, the watter of Clyde, eftir that it hes roun lang toward the north, crukis ay inwart, quhill it come to the montanis of Granyebane;<sup>1</sup> sine<sup>2</sup> discendis with lang passage to the south, quhill it fall in the Ireland seis. The cuntre, quhair it rinnis, is callit Clydisdail. Betwix Clyde and Lennox lyis the baronie of Renfrew; in the quhilk ar twa lochis, namit Quhynsouth<sup>3</sup> and Leboth,<sup>4</sup> sum xx and sum xii milis of lenth, richt plentuous and full of fische. Abone Renfrew, to the Ooceane seis, lyis the Lennox, namit, be Ptolome, Lelgonia; in quhilk is ane gret loch namit Lochmond, xxiv milis of lenth, and viii milis of breid. Within this loch ar xxx Ilis, weil biggit with kirkis, templis, and housis: and in this loch ar thre notable thingis; fische swomand<sup>5</sup> but ony fin; ane richt dangerus and storme wal,<sup>6</sup> but ony wind; and ane Ile that fletis heir and thair as the wind servis.<sup>7</sup> This loch standis at the fute of the montanis of Granyebene, quhilkis wer sum time the gret marchis betwix the Scottis and Pichtis, and gangis fra Lochlowmond to the mouth of Dee. The Pichtis had na landis beyound the montanis of Granyebene, nor yit liand to the Ireland seis; for thir boundis wer ay inhabit be Scottis. VIII milis fra Lochlowmond is the castell of Dunbritane,<sup>8</sup> namit sum time, Alcleuch; quhair the watter of Levin fallis in Clyde. Beyound Lochlowmond is Argyle, ane cuntre ful of rochis, craggis, and montanis. In it ar twa lochis, Lochfine and Lochquho.<sup>9</sup> The land is devidit in thre partis; the land that lyis in middis thairof is callit Knapdail. In Lochfine is mair plente of hering than is in ony seis of Albion. In Lochquho ar mony fische, sik as leiffis on fresch watter. In

<sup>1</sup> The Grampians. <sup>2</sup> Then. <sup>3</sup> Queenside Loch, in parish of Lochwinnoch. <sup>4</sup> Loch Libo, in parish of Neilston. <sup>5</sup> Swimming. <sup>6</sup> Wave. <sup>7</sup> The wonders of Loch Lomond are celebrated by Gregory of Monmouth, and the interpolator of Nennius, according to whom it had 300 islands peopled with human beings, 340 rocks peopled with eagles, and 340 rivers flowing out of it, while it received only one.—Nennius, chap. 74. <sup>8</sup> Dumbarton. <sup>9</sup> Loch Awe.



Argyle ar twa castellis, Glennunquhart<sup>1</sup> and Enconell;<sup>2</sup> and in it ar XII Ilis: bot thay ar mair proffitable in store of bestial, than ony cornis. In Argyle ar mony riche minis, full of metall; bot ye pepill thairof hes na craft nor industry to win the samin. It is said, in this cuntre is ane stane of sic nature, that it kendlis cauld stra, or hardis<sup>3</sup> in fire, quhen it is involvit thairwith. In Argyle ar VII uthir lochis; sum xxx milis in lenth and breid, and sum les. It wes said be Schir Duncane Campbell to us, that out of Garloll,<sup>4</sup> ane loch of Argyle, the yeir of God M.DX yeris, come ane terrible beist, als mekil as ane grew-hound,<sup>5</sup> futit lik ane ganar,<sup>6</sup> and straik doun gret treis with the dint of hir tail; and slew thre men quhilkis wer at thair hountis with thre straikis of hir tail: and wer not the remanent huntaris clam up in strang aikis,<sup>7</sup> thay had bene all slane in the samin maner. Eftir the slauchter of thir men, scho fled speidlie to the loch. Sindry prudent men belevit gret trubill to follow in Scotland, be appering of this beist; for scho was sene afore, and ay trubill following thairefter. Marcheand with Argyle lyis Lorn, quhilk wes sun time bot ane part thairof; for it lyis in maner of ane tounge within the Ireland seis, with ane lang hals, LX milis of lenth and breid. This tounge, that rinnis sa far within the seis, wes sun time namit Novantia; bot now is it callit Kintyre, that is to say, the Heid of Lorn. The outmaist part of this tounge is not XVI milis fra Ireland. Sum auctouris sayis, baith Argyle and Kintyre wer namit Novantia; for Ptolome makis na mention of Argyle in his cosmographie. In Lorn growis beir<sup>8</sup> with gret plente. Beyound Lorne is Lochquhabir, quhilk wes sun time ane part of Murrayland. It is full of minis, sic as irne and leid, and richt proffitabill in store of bestiall. In it ar mony woddis, lochis, and rivers, full of salmond and uthir fische, swomand sa plenteuslie, that the samin is tane but ony craft.<sup>9</sup> The principall rivers of Lochquhabir ar Lochtie<sup>10</sup> and Spanye;<sup>11</sup> howbeit the cause thairof be uncertane. Lochtie risis nocht VIII milis fra Lochness, and fallis, under the same

<sup>1</sup> Kilchurn Castle, in Glenorchy. <sup>2</sup> Ardchonnell Castle, on a small island near the eastern side of Loch Awe. See *Macgibbon and Ross* for a description of it. <sup>3</sup> Rags. <sup>4</sup> Gareloch. <sup>5</sup> Greyhound. <sup>6</sup> Gander. <sup>7</sup> Oaks. <sup>8</sup> Winter barley. <sup>9</sup> Skill. <sup>10</sup> Lochy. <sup>11</sup> Spean.



name, in the Almane<sup>1</sup> seis. Beside it is ane roche crag, dipband with ane lang hals in the seis, namit Hardnomorth.<sup>2</sup> In the mouth of Lochtie wes ane riche toun namit Inverlochtie,<sup>3</sup> quhair sum time wes gret change, be repair of uncouth marchandis; quhill at last it wes sa uterlie destroyit be weris of Danis, that it come nevir to the honour and magnificence as it had afore: and quhiddir the samin procedis be sleuth of our pepill, or be invy of limmers,<sup>4</sup> quhilkis may suffir na wallit tounis in this cuntre,<sup>5</sup> it is uncertane. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, sum time namit Evonium. Beyond Dunstafage is the mouth of the watter of Spanye, quhair it fallis in the Almane seis.<sup>6</sup>

Beyond the watter of Spanye lyis Ros, sum time namit Lugia; rising with ane strait narow hals, and thaireftir is cassin furth, with mair braid lesuris,<sup>7</sup> valis, and montanis; circulit, baith on the ta syde and the tothir, with the oceane. This cuntre, quhair it lyis maist approchand to the Ireland seis, hes richt difficill passage, and ganis mair<sup>8</sup> for store of bestial than ony habitatioun of man. It is best manurit fornenche the Almane seis: richt plentuous baith of gers and corn; for thir hailsum valis, quhare the rivers discendis, makis the herbis richt delicius and nurisand. In Ros ar sindry lochis, bot Lochbroun<sup>9</sup> is maist. Mony rivers ar in Ros, full of fische. In Ros is Cromarte, ane firth and sicker port to all shippis, to saif thame fra danger of tempest, namit be the peple, the Heil of Schipmen.<sup>10</sup> In Ros is the toun of Thane,<sup>11</sup> quhair the blissit banis of Sanct Dutho<sup>12</sup> restis in gret veneratioun of peple. In ane vale of Ros ar twa housis,<sup>13</sup> round in forme of ane bell; and ar saiffit to our dayis in memory of sum antiquiteis of our eldaris. Merchand with Ros lyis Stranavern, the outmaist boundis of Scotland;

<sup>1</sup> German Ocean. The Lochy, of course, does *not* flow into the German Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> Ardnamurchan (?). <sup>3</sup> The legend is that Inverlochy was a city of the Pictish kings, subsequently destroyed by the Danes. It was there also that King Achaius (790) signed the treaty with Charlemagne, so famous in Scottish legendary history. <sup>4</sup> Evil-minded persons. <sup>5</sup> See above, p. 44. <sup>6</sup> Another instance of Boece's hazy notions of the geography of his native country.

<sup>7</sup> Meadow-land. <sup>8</sup> Is better fitted. <sup>9</sup> Lochbroom. <sup>10</sup> See above, p. 48.

<sup>11</sup> Tain. <sup>12</sup> St Duthac. <sup>13</sup> Doubtless the so-called "beehive houses" (in Glenelg), a name applied to the early Celtic monasteries.

of quhilk the se cost lyis north-north-west, and crukis in agane sum time fornens the Almane seis, havand fornens it, on the gret north, Cathnes; on the gret eist, Sutherland; on the gret south, Ros; and, on the gret west, the north-nor-west seis. Thre gret craggis lyis on the outmaist side of Stranavern,<sup>1</sup> namit Hoy, Howbroun,<sup>2</sup> and Downisbie;<sup>3</sup> and becaus thir thre rochis schutis far in the see, thay mak twa gret firthis and lochis, severit fra uthir. Merchand with Cathnes lyis Sutherland, ane profitable cuntre baith for store and cornis. On the yond side of it lyis Murray, sum time namit Vararis. Bot it hes nocht the samin marchis now as it had than; for all the boundis betwix Spay and Nes<sup>4</sup> to the Ireland seis, wer namit Murray: bot now it lyis sum time beyond the watter of Spay and Kissok,<sup>5</sup> quhil it cum to the Ireland seis. Betwix Ros and Murray, the land crukis in with ane gret discens and vale, in quhilk fallis five rivers, Nes; Nardyn,<sup>6</sup> Findorn, Los,<sup>7</sup> and Spay. Spay rinnis with sa feirs and violent streme, that the see tide, quhen it cumis in maist swiftlie, may nocht resist the violent discens and streme of this watter, bot is, with the preis<sup>8</sup> and streme thair of, born down per force to the seis. Nes risis fra ane loch under the same name, nocht viii milis fra the samin loch that Lochtie cumis fra, and rinnis in the Ireland seis.<sup>9</sup> Nothir fresis the water of Lochtie, nor yit the loch that it cumis fra, in ony storme of winter; and, to the greter admiratioun, ony frosin thing that is cassin in it, meltis and resolvis<sup>10</sup> hastelie: it is, thairfore, richt profitable to al frosin beistis. In the mouth of Nes standis the toun of Innernes; quhare sum time wes gret plente and tak of herying, howbeit thay be now evanist, for offence that is maid aganis sum Sanct. Treuth is, quhen ony avaricius and unhappy men fechtis for the fische that God sendis, be his infinit gudnes, to the sustentatioun of the peple, and diffoulis the see be thair blude; mony yeris eftir, na fische swomis in that place. Beside Lochnes, quhilk is xxiv milis of lenth, and xii of

<sup>1</sup> The northern part of Sutherlandshire. <sup>2</sup> Holburn Head. <sup>3</sup> Duncansbay Head. In placing Hoy Head in Caithness, Boece is followed by Bishop Leslie. <sup>4</sup> Ness. <sup>5</sup> Kessock Ferry, between Inverness and Ross-shire. <sup>6</sup> Nairn. <sup>7</sup> Lossie. <sup>8</sup> Press, violence. <sup>9</sup> Boece seems to have confounded the Ness and the Lochy. See above, p. 73. <sup>10</sup> Dissolves.

breid, ar mony wild hors; and, amang thame, ar mony mar-trikis,<sup>1</sup> bevers, quhitredis,<sup>2</sup> and toddis;<sup>3</sup> the furringis and skinnis of thaim ar coft with gret price amang uncouth marchandis. In Murray is nocht allanerlie gret aboundance and fouth of quheit, beir, aitis, and siclik cornis, with gret plente of nutis and appillis, bot in it ar gret fouth of fische, and speciallie salmond. In this cuntre is ane uncouth maner of fisching: for the peple makis ane lang mand,<sup>4</sup> narrow halsit, and wyid mouthit, with mony stobis<sup>5</sup> inouth,<sup>6</sup> maid with sik craft, that the fische thrawis thameself in it, and can nocht get furth agane; and als sone as the see ebbis, the fische ar tane dry in the crelis. In Murray is ane loch namit Spynee, quhair gret plente is of swannis. The cause quhy the swannis multiplyis sa fast in this loch, is throw ane herbe namit Olour,<sup>7</sup> quhilk burgeonis<sup>8</sup> with gret fertilite in the said loch, and the seid of it is richt nurisand and delicious to swannis. This herbe is sa brudy,<sup>9</sup> that quhair it is anis sawin or plantit, it can nevir be distroyit; as may be provin be experience: for, thought this loch be v. milis lang, and wes sum time, as the memorie of man yit beris, full of salmond and uthir gret fische, yit fra this herbe began to burgeon in it, the watter is growin sa schauld,<sup>10</sup> that ane man may waid throw the maist partis thairof; and, thairfore, all maner of gret fische is quit evanist out of it. In Murray land is the Kirk of Pette,<sup>11</sup> quhare the banis of Litill Johnne remanis, in gret admiratioun of pepill.<sup>12</sup> He has bene fourtene fut of hicht, with square membris effering<sup>13</sup> thairto. Viyeris afore the cuming of this werk to licht, we saw his hanche bane, als mekill as the haille bane of ane man; for we schot our arme in the mouth thairof: be quhilk apperis how strang and square pepill grew in our region, afore thay wer effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth. In Murray is the toun of Elgin, nocht far fra the mouth of Spay; in quhilk is the nobill cathedrall kirk of Murray, decorit richelie with the college of Channonis. Sindry riche abbayis ar in

<sup>1</sup> Martens. <sup>2</sup> Weasels. <sup>3</sup> Foxes. <sup>4</sup> A basket. <sup>5</sup> Stakes. Boece refers to the contrivance of *cruives* and *zaires*, which dates at least from the reign of David I. <sup>6</sup> Within. <sup>7</sup> So-called from the Latin *olor*, a swan. See below, p. 140. <sup>8</sup> Blossoms. <sup>9</sup> Prolific. <sup>10</sup> Shallow. <sup>11</sup> Petty, in extreme north-east of Inverness-shire. <sup>12</sup> See below, p. 141. <sup>13</sup> Proportioned.

Murray: as Killos,<sup>1</sup> of the ordoure of Cestuus; and Pluscardie,<sup>2</sup> of the ordoure Clunacensis.

Marcheand with Murray, lyis Boene<sup>3</sup> and Anye;<sup>4</sup> twa plentuus regionis in store of bestiall, liand, with ample and roume<sup>5</sup> boundis, to the seis. Thir regionis ar full of scheip and nolt,<sup>6</sup> for the sindry lesuris and woddis in the samin; and throw the middis thairof rinnis the watter of Dovern.<sup>7</sup> In the mouth of this watter standis the toun of Bamf. Under thir two regionis afore namit, lyis Buchquhane, ane profitable land for scheip; for it passis all cuntreis, liand about it, in riches of quhit and deligat woll. Mony watteris ar in Buchquhane; all full of salmond, except Rattra,<sup>8</sup> in quhilkis ar nane. In Buchquhane is the castell of Slanis, the Constablis<sup>9</sup> hous of Scotland: beside quhilk is ane mervellus cove;<sup>10</sup> for the watter that droppis in it, growis, within schort time, in maner of ane hard quhit stane; and, wer noch't the cove is oft temit,<sup>11</sup> it wald be fillit sone with stanis. Na rattonis<sup>12</sup> ar sene in this cuntre; and, als sone as thay ar brocht thair, thay de.<sup>13</sup> In Buchquhane growis aitis but ony tilth or seid. Quhen the peple passis with set purpos to scheir thir aitis, thay find noch't but tume hullis; yit quhen thay pas but ony premeditatioun, thay find thir aitis ful and weil ripit. Thir thingis cumis noch't be nature, but erar be illusioun of devillis, to the dissait of blind and supersticius pepill. Under Buchquhane lyis Mar; ane plentuus region in store of bestiall, LX milis in lenth and breid, fra the Almane seis to Badyenoch. In it is the ciete of Abirdene, the bishoppis seit; with generall Universite, flurising in all science; and wes foundit be the nobill Bischop William Elphinstoun, with ane riche and magnificent college. This ciete lyis betwix two riche rivers, Done and Dee; in quhilkis ar mair fouth of salmond, than in ony part of Albionn.

<sup>1</sup> The Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss. *Cestuus* is suggested by the French form of Cistercium, *Cîteaux*. <sup>2</sup> The Cistercian Priory of Pluscardyn. <sup>3</sup> Boindie. <sup>4</sup> Enzie. <sup>5</sup> Spacious. <sup>6</sup> Oxen. <sup>7</sup> Deveron. <sup>8</sup> Rathero Burn. <sup>9</sup> The office of high-constable is still possessed by the Earls of Errol. In right of it they are the first subjects in Scotland after the blood-royal. <sup>10</sup> The Dropping Cave or White Cave of Slains. <sup>11</sup> Emptied. <sup>12</sup> Rats. <sup>13</sup> This was anciently believed of various districts of Scotland. The earth of Liddesdale, for example, was formerly used to lay the floors of barns, under the belief that it kept rats away. Cf. *E. T.*, p. 201.



Marchand with Mar lyis the Mernis, to the see; ane riche cuntre for store of bestiall: in it is Dunnothir, the Marschel<sup>1</sup> of Scotlandis hous. In the Mernis is the toun of Fordoun; quhare the blissit banis of Sanct Paladie<sup>2</sup> restis, in gret veneratioun of peple. On the out-marchis of Mernis rinnis the watter of Esk, uthirwayis namit Northesk; ane dangerus watter, quhare mony passingeris perisis for falt of ane brig. Bendorand with the Mernis lyis Angus; quhilk wes sum time ane part of Horrestia, and is dividit with thre rivers, Northesk, Southesk, and Tay. In Angus is ane hie montane, dipband in the Almane seis, callit the Reid Brayis.<sup>3</sup> Tay risis, far beyond the montanis of Granyebene, fra Loch Tay, quhilk is xxiv milis of lenth, and x milis of breid; and descendis, with gret plente of fische, quhill it cum in the Almane seis, beside Dundee, the toun quhair we wer born;<sup>4</sup> quhair mony virtewus and lauborius pepill ar in, making of claith. In Angus ar mony uthir gud townis, as Montroys, Brechin, and Forfair; with sa gret noumer of castellis, that it wer our tedious laubour to writ thaim all. In Angus ar mony lochis, full of fische: and in it ar mony abbayis; as Resteneth,<sup>5</sup> of Channons regulare, eftir the ordour of Augustine; Aberbrothak,<sup>6</sup> and Coupar: the first, of the ordour of Turonen; and the nixt, of the ordour of Cistuus.<sup>7</sup> In the vale of Esk is sa quhit and small wol, that it hes na compair in Albioun. Beside Tay is Fiffe, sum time ane part of Octolyne. In it growis all maner of cornis, with als gret plente as dois in ony part of Albioun; and, quhare na cornis ar, it is richt profitable in store of bestial. In Fiffe ar won<sup>8</sup> blak stanis,<sup>9</sup> quhilk hes sa intollerable heit, quhen thay ar kendillit, that thay resolve and meltis irne, and ar thairfore richt profitable for operation of smithis. This kind of blak stanis ar won in na part of Albion, bot allanerlie betwix Tay and Tyne.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Keith, the tenth of his line, was created Earl Marischal of Scotland in 1458. Dunnottar Castle was the chief seat of the family. <sup>2</sup> St Palladius. His name is still preserved in Paldy Fair. <sup>3</sup> Red Head, in parish of Inverkeilor. The cliffs are porphyritic, and reach a height of 267 feet.

<sup>4</sup> Boece was born in Dundee about 1465. <sup>5</sup> The Augustinian Abbey of Restennet, founded by David I. <sup>6</sup> Arbroath Abbey, founded in 1178 by William the Lion, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Thomas à Becket. The monks were of the Tyronensian Order. <sup>7</sup> Cistercian.

<sup>8</sup> Obtained. <sup>9</sup> Coal.



In Fiffe is maid gret plente of quhit salt. In Fiffe ar mony noble townis; as Sanct Androis, the archebischopis seit of Scotland, Kirkcawde, Disart, Kingorne, Cowpar, and Dunfermeling; quhare ane riche abbay is decorit with generall sepulturis of kingis. Mony uthir abbayis ar in Fiffe, dedicat to the Blissit Virgine: as Culros,<sup>1</sup> Bawmerinoch,<sup>2</sup> Petmoyg,<sup>3</sup> and Pettinweme. In Fiffe ar sindry lochis; as Loch Torre,<sup>4</sup> Lochlevin. In Lochlevin is ane castell, with mony ilis; and in ane of thaim is the kirk of Sanct Phillane.<sup>5</sup> Fiffe is devidit fra Louthiane be the reveir of Forth, quhilk rinnis, with ane braid firth, in the Almane seis. This firth is richt plentuus of coclis, osteris, muschellis, selch,<sup>6</sup> pellok,<sup>7</sup> merswine,<sup>8</sup> and quhalis; with gret plente of quhit fische. Amang mony uthir ilis in this firth is the Ile of May, decorit with the blude and martirdome of Sanct Adriane and his fallowis.<sup>9</sup> In the middis of this Ile, springis ane fontane of fresche and purifyit watter outhrow ane roche crag; to the gret admiration of peple, considerin it lyis in the middis of the seis. Beside this Ile is ane wondrous crag, risand within the see, with sa narro and strait hals, that na schip nor bait<sup>10</sup> may arrive bot allanerlie at ane part of it. This crag is callit the Bas; unwinnabill be ingine<sup>11</sup> of man. In it ar coves, als proffitable for defence of men, as thay wer biggit be crafty industry. Every thing that is in that crag is ful of admiration and wonder. In it ar incredible noumer of Soland Geis; nocht unlik to thir fowlis, that Plineus callis See Ernis; and ar sene in na part of Albion, bot in this crag and Ailsay. At thair first cumin, quhilk is in the spring of the yeir, thay gadder sa gret noumer of treis and stikkis to big thair nestis, that the samin nicht be sufficient fewell to the keparis of the castell, howbeit thay had na uthir provision; and thocht the keparis tak fra thir fowlis thir stikkis and treis, yit thay tak lital indignation thair of, bot bringis haistelie agane als mony fra uthir placis quhair thay fle. Thay nuris thair birdis with maist deligat fische; for, thocht

<sup>1</sup> Culross is in a detached district of Perthshire. Its Abbey was founded in 1217 by Malcolm, Earl of Fife. <sup>2</sup> Balmerino. <sup>3</sup> The Priory of St Serf, in parish of Portmoak, Kinross-shire. All trace of it has now disappeared.

<sup>4</sup> There is a Torrie Burn, but the loch has long been drained. <sup>5</sup> Fillan.

<sup>6</sup> Seal. <sup>7</sup> Porpoise. <sup>8</sup> Dolphin. <sup>9</sup> Fellows. See above, p. 40. <sup>10</sup> Boat.

<sup>11</sup> Wit.

thay have ane fische in thair mouth abone the seis, quhair thay fle, yit gif thay se ane uthir bettir, thay lat the first fal, and doukis,<sup>1</sup> with ane fellon stoure,<sup>2</sup> in the see, and bringis haistelie up the fische that thay last saw; and thought this fische be reft fra hir be the keparis of the castell, scho takkis litill indignation, bot fleis incontinent for ane uthir. Thir keparis, of the castell forsaide, takis the young geis fra thaim with litill impediment; thus cumis gret proffet yeirlie to the lord of the said castell. Within the bowellis of thir geis, is ane fatnes of singulare medicine; for it helis mony infirmiteis, speciallie sik as cumis be gut<sup>3</sup> and cater<sup>4</sup> disceding in the hanches or lethes<sup>5</sup> of men and wemen. In this crag growis ane richt delicius herbe; and, quhen it is transportit or plantit in ony othir part, it is of litill sapor or gust.<sup>6</sup> In this crag wes sum time ane stane, full of ene<sup>7</sup> and holis, like ane watter spounge, holkit<sup>8</sup> in the middis; of sik nature, that all salt watter that is waschin thairwith, becumis incontinent fresche and delicius to the mouth. We heir, now, that this stane is in Fast Castell. In ane Ile of Forth, is the abbay of Sanct Colme, of Channons regulare, eftir the ordour of Sanct Augustine. Mony othir Ilis ar in this firth, full of cunnings.<sup>9</sup> Oftimes are sene in this firth uncouth and wonderfull fische, with coulis<sup>10</sup> hinging our thair hedis, like monkis, and signifyis ay mortalite of men and beistis quhare thay ar sene.

On the south side of Forth lyis Louthiane; callit, with that name, fra Loth, ane of the principall kingis of Pichtis. Louthiane is maist plentuous ground of Scotland. In it ar mony abbayis, castellis, and tounis; as Hadingtoun, Dunbar, North Berwik, Leith: bot Edinburgh passis thaim all, baith in polese,<sup>11</sup> reparation, wisdom, and riches: and abone it is the castell undir the same name, sum time callit The Madin Castell, and yit remanis undir the same name. Nocht two milis fra Edinburgh is ane fontane, dedicat to Sanct Katrine, quhair sternis<sup>12</sup> of oulie<sup>13</sup> springis ithandle<sup>14</sup> with sic abundance, that, howbeit the samin be gaderit away, it springis incontinent with gret abundance. This fontane rais throw ane

<sup>1</sup> Dive. <sup>2</sup> Violent rush. <sup>3</sup> Gout. <sup>4</sup> Catarrh. <sup>5</sup> Limbs. <sup>6</sup> Savour or taste.

<sup>7</sup> Eyes. <sup>8</sup> Hollowed. <sup>9</sup> Marvels. <sup>10</sup> Cows. <sup>11</sup> Policy. <sup>12</sup> Grains? <sup>13</sup> Oil.

<sup>14</sup> Unceasingly.

drop of Sanct Katrinis oulie, quhilk wes brocht out of Mont Sinai, fra hir sepulture, to Sanct Margaret, the blissit Quene of Scotland. Als sone as Sanct Margaret saw the oulie spring ithandle, be divine miracle, in the said place, scho gart big ane chapell thair, in the honour of Sanct Katherine. This oulie hes ane singulare virtew aganis all maner of cankir and skawis.<sup>1</sup> Nocht far fra the mouth of Forth is the castel of Dunbar; quhilk, be nature and crafty industrie of man, is the strenthiest hous, this day, of Albion. Dunbar wes sum time the cheif chemis<sup>2</sup> of the Erlis of Marche. Nocht far fra it is ane toun undir the same name, with ane magnificent and riche college of Channons,<sup>3</sup> foundit and honorably dotat<sup>4</sup> be the said Erlis. On the eist side of Louthiane lyis the Mers; the cuntre quhilk by us is first discrivit. Under the Mers lyis Tevidail; and abone it lyis Twedail. Under Twedail lyis Dryisdail,<sup>5</sup> Waulcopdail,<sup>6</sup> Douglasdail, and Clydisdail. All thir dalis beris the name of that rever that discendis throw thaim. The principall toun of Clydisdail is Glasqu, the archebischoppis seit; quhare ane nobill kirk is dotat richelie in the honour of Sanct Mungow, and biggit with gret magnificence. In Glasqu is ane generall Univer-site,<sup>7</sup> and study of all liberall science. In Clydisdail is ane riche mine of gold and asure, won but ony laubour: sum times ar won in it, sindry precious stanis of variant hewis. This goldin mine wes found in the time of King James the Feird;<sup>8</sup> quhilk had so mony singulare virtewis,<sup>9</sup> that he had decorit his realme with infinite riches be this mine, gif God had fortunit him to have had dayis. Now, be sleuth and necligence of uncrafty peple, this mine dois small proffet.<sup>10</sup> Fra Glasqu, north, lyis Menteith, and Strivelingschire, marcheand with Argyle and Lennox. In Strivelingschire is the toun of Striveling; and abone it standis the castel under the samin name, sum time namit the Dolorus Montane.<sup>11</sup> At this toun began the gret wod of Calidon. This wod of Calidon ran fra Striveling throw Menteith and Stratherne to

<sup>1</sup> Scab. <sup>2</sup> This was the specific name of the building where the baillie of barony held his court. Here it simply means the chief residence. <sup>3</sup> Founded by Patrick, Earl of March, in 1218. <sup>4</sup> Endowed. <sup>5</sup> Dryfesdale, locally pronounced Drysdale. <sup>6</sup> Wauchopedale. <sup>7</sup> In orig. *gymnasium publicum*. <sup>8</sup> Third. <sup>9</sup> But see above, p. 54. <sup>10</sup> See below, p. 119. <sup>11</sup> Also known as Snowdoun or Snawdun.

Atholl and Lochquhabir ; as Ptolome writtis, in his first table. In this wod wes sum time quhit bullis, with crisp and curland mane, like feirs lionis ; and, thought thay semit meik and tame in the remanent figure of thair bodyis, thay wer mair wild than ony uthir beistis, and had sic hatrent aganis the societe and cumpany of men, that thay come nevir in the woddis nor lesuris quhair thay fand ony feit or hand thairof ; and, mony dayis eftir, thay eit nocht of the herbis that wer twichit or handillitt be men. Thir bullis wer sa wild, that thay wer nevir tane but slicht and crafty laubour ; and sa impacient, that, eftir thair taking, thay deit for importable doloure. Als sone as ony man invadit<sup>1</sup> thir bullis, thay ruschit with so terrible preis on him, that thay dang him to the eird ; takand na feir of houndis, scharp lancis, nor uthir maist penitrive wappinnis. It is said, King Robert Bruce, eftir his coronatioun, went to ane hunting in this wod, havand bot ane quiet cumpanie with him, and eschakit narowlie of his leif ; for ane of the bullis, eftir that he wes sair woundit be the huntaris, ruschit feirsleie on the king, howbeit he had na wapinnis in his hand to debait<sup>2</sup> himself fra the dint thairof : Incontinent, ane man of gret spreit, quhilk wes standing neir by, lap<sup>3</sup> afore the king ; and nocht allanerlie kest the bull be manifest force to the erd, bot held him, quhill the remanent huntaris slew him with thair wappinnis. This man, that rescourisit<sup>4</sup> the king, wes callit Turnbull, and wes rewardit with riche landis be the king. And thought thir bullis wer bred in sindry boundis of the Calidon Wod, now, be continewal hunting and lust of insolent men, thay ar distroyit in all partis of Scotland, and nane of thaim left bot allanerlie in Cumarnald.<sup>5</sup> On the eist side of Menteith lyis Strathern ; and marchis on the samin side with Fiffe. Out throw the valis of this regioun rinnis

<sup>1</sup> Attacked. <sup>2</sup> Defend. <sup>3</sup> Leaped. <sup>4</sup> Rescued. <sup>5</sup> Cumbernauld—

“ Mightiest of all the beasts of chase  
That roam in woody Caledon,  
Crashing the forest in his race,  
The mountain bull comes thundering on.  
Fierce on his hunter’s quiver’d brand  
He rolls his eyes of swarthy glow ;  
Spurns, with black hoof and horn, the sand,  
And tosses high his mane of snow.”—Scott, *Cadzow Castle*.

the watter of Ern, and fallis in Tay. And, nocht four milis fra the place quhare Ern fallis in Tay, is ane stane of small quantite, howbeit it be of mervellus nature; for thair is nothir preis<sup>1</sup> nor ingine of man that may transport it out of the place quhair it lyis: attoure ane man, and ane hundreth, movis it elik.<sup>2</sup> On the tothir side of Tay, beyound Angus and Gowrie, lyis Stermond;<sup>3</sup> ane plentuous regioun, baith of gers and cornis. Nocht far fra Stermond lyis Athole; in quhilkis ar mony lusty valis, and fludis, ful of fische; and the ground sa riche, that it beris cornis but ony lauboure. In it is ane toun namit Lud;<sup>4</sup> of quhilk the land is sa plentuous, that, gif it be weil manurit, it beris gud beir<sup>5</sup> but<sup>6</sup> ony seid. In Athole ar uthir landis, of mair contrarius nature; the quheit that is sawin in it degeneris, and turnis in ry. Under Buchquhane and Boene, to the west, lyis Bostgewell,<sup>7</sup> and Gareoth;<sup>8</sup> richt plentuous regionis, baith in gres and cornis. In Gareoth is ane hill namit Doundore,<sup>9</sup> that is to say, the Goldin Montane. The scheip that gangis on this montane ar yallo; thair teeth ar hewit like gold; thair flesche reid, as it wer littit<sup>10</sup> with safron; thair woll is on the same maner. In this regioun is ane carnell<sup>11</sup> of stanis, liand togidder, in maner of ane croun; and ringis, quhen thay ar doun, as ane bell. Ane temple wes biggit, as sum men belevis, in the said place, quhare mony auld ritis and superstitionis wer maid to evill spretis. Mony uthir regionis ar in Scotland; as Bradalbane, Strabraun,<sup>12</sup> and Badyenoth,<sup>13</sup> with sindry uthir small landis and fludis; howbeit thay ar nocht sa notable as thir landis that we have schawin.

Becaus we have discrivit all regionis of Scotland in speciall, we will schaw sum thing concerning thaim in general. And, first, we say, that in all boundis of Scotland, except thay partis quhair continewall habitatioun of peple makis impediment thairto, is gret plente of haris, hartis, hindis, dayis,<sup>14</sup> rais,<sup>15</sup> wolffis, wild hors, and toddis.<sup>16</sup> Thir wild hors ar not tane but crafty slicht: for, in time of winter, the

<sup>1</sup> Force. <sup>2</sup> Alike. <sup>3</sup> Strathalmond. <sup>4</sup> There is a *house of Lude* in the parish of Blair Athole. <sup>5</sup> Winter barley. <sup>6</sup> Without. <sup>7</sup> Strathbogie? <sup>8</sup> Garioch. <sup>9</sup> Dunnideer Hill, in the parish of Inch. It is crowned by a vitrified fort. <sup>10</sup> Dyed. A dyer was called a *litstar*. <sup>11</sup> Diminutive of cairn. <sup>12</sup> Strathbran. <sup>13</sup> Badenoch. <sup>14</sup> Does. <sup>15</sup> Roes. <sup>16</sup> Foxes.



landwart peple puttis certane tame cursouris<sup>1</sup> and meris<sup>2</sup> among thir wild hors; and, be thair commixtioun and frequent cumpanie, makis thaim so tame, that thay may be handillit. The wolffis ar richt noisum<sup>3</sup> to the tame bestiall, in all partis of Scotland, except ane part thair of namit Glenmores,<sup>4</sup> in quhilk the tame bestiall gettis litill damage of wild bestiall, specialie of toddis; for ilk hous of this cuntre, nurisis ane young tod certane dayis, and mengis<sup>5</sup> the flesche thair of, eftir that it be slane, with sic meit as thay gif to thair fowlis, or uthir smal beistis; and sa mony as etis of this meit ar preservit twa monethis eftir fra ony damage of toddis: for toddis will eit na flesche that gustis<sup>6</sup> of thair awin kind; and, be thair bot ane beist or fowll that hes nocht gustit of this meit, the tod will cheis it out among ane thousand. In Scotland ar doggis of mervellus nature; for abone the commoun nature and conditioun of doggis, quhilkis ar sene in all partis, ar thre maner of doggis in Scotland, quhilk ar sene in na uthir partis of the warld. The first is ane hound,<sup>7</sup> baith wicht, hardy, and swift. Thir houndis ar nocht allanerlie feirs and cruell on all wild beistis, bot on thevis and ennimes to thair maister, on the same maner. The secound kind is ane rache, that sekis thair pray, baith of fowlis, beistis, and fische, be sent and smell of thair neis. The thrid kind is na mair than ony rache; reid hewit, or ellis blak, with small spraingis or spottis;<sup>8</sup> and ar callit be the peple, Sleuthoundis.<sup>9</sup> Thir doggis hes sa mervellus wit, that thay serche thevis, and followis on thaim allanerlie be sent of the guddis that ar tane away; and nocht allanerlie findis the theif, bot invadis him with gret cruelte; and, thought the thevis oftymes cors the watter, quhair thay pas, to caus the hound to tine<sup>10</sup> the sent of thaim and the guddis, yit he serchis heir and thair with sic deligence, that, be his fut, he findis baith the trace of the theif and the guddis. The mervellus nature of thir houndis wil have na faith with uncouth peple; howbeit the samin ar richt frequent and rife on the bordouris of Ingland and Scotland: attour it is statute, be the lawis of the Bordouris, he that denyis entres<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stallions.   <sup>2</sup> Mares.   <sup>3</sup> Hurtful.   <sup>4</sup> Glenmore, stretching from Argyll to Angus.   <sup>5</sup> Mixes.   <sup>6</sup> Tastes.   <sup>7</sup> Lymer (Fr., *Limier*).   <sup>8</sup> That is, *brindled*.  
<sup>9</sup> The bloodhound.   <sup>10</sup> Lose.   <sup>11</sup> Entrance.

to the sleuthound, in time of chace and serching of guddis, sal be haldin participant with the crime and thift committit. Of fowlis, sic as leiffis of reif, ar sindry kindis in Scotland; as ernis, falconis, goishalkis, sparhalkis, marlyonis,<sup>1</sup> and sik lik fowlis. Of watter fowlis is sa gret noumer, that it is wonder to heir. Mony uthir fowlis ar in Scotland, quhilkis ar sene in na uthir partis of the warld; as capercailye, ane foul mair<sup>2</sup> than ane ravin, quhilk leiffisallanerlie of barkis of treis.<sup>3</sup> In Scotland ar mony mure cokis and hennis, quhilk etis nocht bot seid, or croppis of hadder.<sup>4</sup> Sic like ar gret noumer of blak cokis and hennis, nocht unlike to ane fasiane,<sup>5</sup> baith in quantite and sapoure of thair flesche; bot thay have blak fedderis and reid ee-breis.<sup>6</sup> And beside thir thre uncouth kind of fowlis, is ane uthir kind of fowlis in the Mers, mair uncouth, namit gustardis,<sup>7</sup> als mekle as ane swan; bot in the colour of thair fedderis, and gust of thair flesche, thay ar litil different fra ane pertrik.<sup>8</sup> Thir last fowlis ar not frequent, bot in few noumer; and sa far haitis the cumpany of man, that gif thay find thair eggis aindit<sup>9</sup> or twichit be men, thay leif thaim, and layis eggis in ane othir place. Thay lay thair eggis in the bair erd. All othir kind of fowlis ar in Scotland, on the same maner as thay ar in ony othir realmes. Of fische is mair plente in Scotland, speciallie of salmond, than is in ony uthir partis of the warld. And, becaus the procreation and nature of salmond is uncouth and strange, we have inserit the maner thairof in this buke. Thir salmond, in the time of hervist, cumis up throw the smal watteris, speciallie quhare the watter is maist schauld and loun,<sup>10</sup> and spawnis, with thair wamis plet<sup>11</sup> to uthir. The hie<sup>12</sup> fische spawnis his meltis, and the scho fische hir rounis,<sup>13</sup> and incontinent coveris thaim ouir with sand in the reveir; and, eftir thair spawning, thay grow sa lene and small, that na thing apperis on thaim bot skin and bane; and hes sa warsche<sup>14</sup> gust, that thay ar unprofitable to eit. Sum men sayis, all othir salmond that metis thaim eftir thair spawning

<sup>1</sup> Merlins. <sup>2</sup> Larger. <sup>3</sup> It feeds on berries, seeds, worms, and insects, but especially on the young shoots of the pine. It was extirpated in Scotland at the beginning of the present century, but has been successfully restored to the Highlands. <sup>4</sup> Heather. <sup>5</sup> Pheasant. <sup>6</sup> Eyebrows. <sup>7</sup> Bastards. <sup>8</sup> Partridge. <sup>9</sup> Breathed on. <sup>10</sup> Shallow and sheltered. <sup>11</sup> Pressed. <sup>12</sup> Male. <sup>13</sup> Roe. <sup>14</sup> Insipid.

growis lene on the same maner as thay ar; for sindry of thaim ar found lene on the ta side, and fat on the tothir. Forthir, of thir rounis and meltis, quhilkis ar hid, as said is under the sandis, growis, at the spring of the nixt yeir, small tender fische, na gretar than ane mannis thoume; and, gif thay be handillit, thay melt away like ane blob<sup>1</sup> of watter. Always, at the first streme of watter that risis, thay descend to the see; and, within xx dayis eftir, thay grow in marvelous quantite, and, with maist fervent desire and appetite, returnis to the samin placis quhair thay wer generit. Forthir, becaus mony of the watteris of Scotland ar full of linnis,<sup>2</sup> als sone as thir salmond cumis to the lin, thay leip; and sa mony as ar wicht, or lepis weil, thay get up throw the lin, and returnis to the place quhair thay wer bred, and abidis thair quhil the season cum of thair generatioun. Utheris, quhilkis lepis nocht cleirly ouir the lin, brekis thaimself be thair fall, and growis mesall.<sup>3</sup> Utheris ar keppit in cawdrounis; for the landwart peple settis oftymes cawdrounis, playand with hait watter, at the cheik<sup>4</sup> of the lin. Thus, quhen the salmond is faillis thair loup, thay fall callour<sup>5</sup> in the said caldrounis, and ar than maist delitius to the mouth. It is defendit<sup>6</sup> be our lawis, ta sla ony salmond fra the viii day of September, to the xv day of Novembre. Na man knawis quhairon thir fische leiffis; for na thing is found in thair wambe, quhen thay ar oppinnit, bot ane thik grosse humour.

Now we will schaw the nature of mussillis and coelis, of quhilkis mony kindis ar amang us. Sum ar small, with the meit thair of richt delicius to the mouth: utheris ar mair,<sup>7</sup> nocht unlike, in forme and quantite, to the samin mussillis that hes the purple;<sup>8</sup> and, howbeit thay have na thing thair of, thay ar yit richt delicius to the mouth: utheris ar lang and greter, callit Hors Mussillis, and ar gottin in sindry reveris, specialie in De and Done; and in thir mussillis ar generit the perlis. Thir mussillis, airly in the morning, quhen the lift<sup>9</sup> is cleir and temperat, opnis thair mouthis a litill abone the watter, and maist gredelie swellis the dew of the hevin; and, eftir the mesure and quantite of the dew

<sup>1</sup> Bubble. <sup>2</sup> Falls. <sup>3</sup> Leprous, measly. <sup>4</sup> Bank. <sup>5</sup> Fresh. <sup>6</sup> Forbidden.  
<sup>7</sup> Larger. <sup>8</sup> The purple dye. <sup>9</sup> Sky.

that thay swellie, thay consave and breidis the perle. Thir mussillis ar sa doyn gleg<sup>1</sup> of twiche and hering, that howbeit the voce be nevir so small that is maid on the bra<sup>2</sup> beside thaim, or the stane be nevir sa small that is cassin in the watter, thay douk haistelie at anis, and gangis to the ground, knowing weill in quhat estimatioun and price the frute of thair wambe is to al peple. Als sone as the fischaris findis thir mussillis, thay thrist thaim fast togidder. The maner of thair taking followis: First, four or five personis passis in the rever togidder, and standis in maner of ane round cirkill within the watter to thair schulderis. Ilk ane of thaim hes ane staffe in thair hand, that thay sall nocht slide; and sine<sup>3</sup> thay luke and viseis throwe the cleir and purifyit watter, quhill thay se the mussillis; and, becaus thay may nocht tak thaim up with thair handis, thay cleik thaim up with thair tayis, and slingis thaim to the nixt brayis. The perlis that ar gottin in Scotland ar nocht of littill valoure; for thay have ane cleir schinand quhitnes, round and licht; and sum times ar als mekle as the naill of ane mannis finger: of quhilkis we have had part. It wes schawin to us, be thaim that come fra Sanct James,<sup>4</sup> that thair is siclike mussillis in Spanye; bot thay have na perle, for thay leif in salt watter. In all the see-costis of Scotland ar coclis and mussillis on the same maner; thought tha be mair profitable to the mouth, than ony procreatioun of perlis. Mony uncouth forme and figuris of fische ar in Scotland: sum of thaim armit with schellis; sum with hard skalis; and sum of thaim ar round as ane ball, bakkit<sup>5</sup> like ane hurcheon,<sup>5</sup> havand bot ane conduct<sup>6</sup> baith to purge thair wambe and ressave thair meit. To schaw every kind of fische that is in Scotland, it wer bot ane fashious<sup>7</sup> and vane lauboure; for the samin ar knawin to al cuntreis. Of al othir kindis of fische is sa gret plente throw all partis of our seis, that, howbeit infinit noumer of thaim wer tane away on the ta day, na thing thairof sal be mist on the morow. Attoure ane thing is, that cumis not but singulare providence of God; for ay the mair derth and penurite of vittallis is in Scotland, the

<sup>1</sup> Excessively quick. <sup>2</sup> Bank. <sup>3</sup> Then. <sup>4</sup> St James of Compostella in Galicia, whose shrine was one of the most celebrated in the Middle Ages. <sup>5</sup> With a back like a hedgehog. <sup>6</sup> Conduit. <sup>7</sup> Troublesome.

fische swoumis with the more abundance and plente. Attoure in all the desertis and muris<sup>1</sup> of this realme growis ane herbe, namit hadder,<sup>2</sup> but ony seid, richt nutritive baith to beistis and fowlis; specialie to beis. This herbe, in the moneth of July, hes ane floure of purple hew, als sweit as huny. The Pichtis maid of this herbe, sum time, ane richt delicius and hailsum drink. Nochtheless, the maner of the making of it is perist, be exterminoun of the said Pichtis out of Scotland; for thay schew nevir the craft of the making of this drink bot to thair awin blud. Attoure thair is na part of Scotland sa unprofitable, bot it producis othir<sup>3</sup> irne, or ellis sum othir profitable kind of metal; as may be notabilly provin throw all the Ilis of Scotland.

Sen we ar now falling in commoning<sup>4</sup> of the Ilis, we will discribe the same, in maner and forme as followis. Fornens Scotland, to the Ireland seis, lyis XLIII Ilis; of quhilkis sum ar xxx milis lang, utheris XII milis, utheris mair, and utheris les. Thir Ilis wer callit be sum auctouris, Ebonie; and be utheris ar callit Hebrede. The principall Ile is the Ile of Man, quhilk lyis fornens Galloway, and wes sum time the principall seit of the preistis namit Driades; as Cornelius Tacitus, Cesar in his Commentaries, and mony othir Romane auctouris testifyis. North fra the Ile of Man lyis Arrane, uthirwayis namit Botha. This secound name wes gevin to it be Sanct Brandane; for he biggit sum time ane hous in it, namit Both. Fra Arrane lyis Helaw,<sup>5</sup> and Rothesay, namit fra the first Scot that brocht the Scottis out of Ireland in Albioun. Nocht far fra thir Ilis is Ailsay; quhair siclik plente of soland geis is, as we schew afore in the Bas. Fra Ailsay lyis mony uthir Ilis, devidit and severit be thair awin names, full of minis; sik as irne, tin, leid, and uthir metallis: Yit the maist notable Ile of Scotland is Ila, quhilk lyis, beyound the toung of Lorne, in the sight of Lochquhabir; ane riche cuntre, xxx milis of lenth, richt plentuous of corne, and full of metallis, gif thair wer ony crafty and industrius peple to win the samin. Nocht far fra Ila lyis Cumbræ, and Mula, als mekill as Ila, baith in lenth and breid. In this Ile of Mula is ane cleir fontane, two milis

<sup>1</sup> Moors.    <sup>2</sup> Heather.    <sup>3</sup> Either.    <sup>4</sup> Communing.    <sup>5</sup> Holy Island.



fra the see: fra this fontane discendis ane litil burne, or strip, rinnand ful of rounis<sup>1</sup> to the seis. Thir rounis ar round and quhit, schinand like perle, full of thik humour; and, within two houris eftir that thay come to see, thay grow in gret cocles. Schort gait<sup>2</sup> fra thir Ilis is Iona, othirwayis namit Colmekill; in quhilk is ane abbay, full of devot religiis men. This abbay wes the commoun sepulture of all Scottis kingis, fra the time of King Fergus the Secound, to the time of King Malcolme Canmore, quhilk biggit the abbay of Dunfermling; quhair the maist part of our kingis lyis, sen the fundatioun thair of. Passand forthwart to the north-nor-west seis, fornens Ros, is ane Ile namit Lewis, LX milis of lenth. In this Ile is bot ane reveir. It is said, gif ony woman waid throw this watter at the spring of the yeir, thair sall na salmond be sene for that yeir in the said watter: otherwayis, it sall abound in gret plente. Beyound the Lewis lyis two Ilis, namit Sky and Rona.<sup>3</sup> In this last Ile is incredible noumer of selch, pellok, and meirswine,<sup>4</sup> na thing astonist for the sicht of men. The last and outmaist Ile is namit Hirtha;<sup>5</sup> quhare the elevatioun of the pole is LXIII greis. And, sen the elevatioun of the pole abone the Ile of Man is LVII greis,<sup>6</sup> ilk gre<sup>6</sup> extending to LXII milis and ane half in distance, as Ptolome and uthir astronomeris nowmeris, I conclude, that fra the Ile of Man, the first Ile of Albion, to Hirtha, the last Ile thair of, ar CCCLXXVII milis. This last Ile is namit Hirtha, quhilk, in Irsche, is callit ane scheip; for in this Ile is gret nowmer of scheip, ilk ane gretar than ony gait buk,<sup>7</sup> with hornis lang and thikkar than ony horne of ane bewgill,<sup>8</sup> and hes lang talis hingand down to the erd. This Ile is circulit on every side with roche craggis; and na baitis may land at it bot allanerly at ane place, in quhilk is ane strait and narow entres. Sum time thair nicht na pepill pas to this Ile but extreme dangeir of thair livis; and yit thair is na passage to it bot quhen the seis ar cawme but ony tempest. In the moneth of Juny, ane preist cumis out of the Lewis in ane bait to this Ile, and ministeris the sacra-

<sup>1</sup> Roe of fish. <sup>2</sup> Distance. <sup>3</sup> In Mercator's map, Rona is placed about half-way between Lewis and Cape Wrath. Bocce seems to have thought that Skye was both further north and further west than Lewis. <sup>4</sup> Dolphins.

<sup>5</sup> St Kilda. <sup>6</sup> Degrees. <sup>7</sup> He-goat. <sup>8</sup> Bugle.

ment of baptisme to all the barnis that hes bene borne in the yeir afore. Als sone as this preist hes done his office, with certane messis, he ressavis the tindis<sup>1</sup> of all thair commoditeis, and returnis hame the same gait he come. In the Ile of Lewis ar two kirkis; ane dedicat to Sanct Peter, and the tother dedicat to Sanct Clement. The famé is, als sone as the fire gangis furth<sup>2</sup> in this Ile, the man that is haldin of maist clene and innocent life layis ane wosp<sup>3</sup> of stra on the alter; and, when the pepill are gevin maist devoutly to thair praers, the wosp kindellis in ane bleis. Beyond thir Ilis is yit ane uthir Ile, bot it is not inhabit with ony pepill. In it ar certane beistis, nocht far different fra the figure of scheip, sa wild that thay can nocht be tane but gurnis:<sup>4</sup> the hair of thaim is lang and tattie,<sup>5</sup> nothir like the woll of scheip nor gait. Betwix thir Ilis is oftymes richt dangerus passage: for the see, be contrarius stremes, makis collision; sum times yettand<sup>6</sup> out the tid, and sum times swelleand and soukand<sup>7</sup> it in agane, with sa forcy violence, that quhen the schippis ar saland throw thir dangerus veilis,<sup>8</sup> oftymes thay ar othir drownit, or ellis brokin on craggis. The grettest vele heirop is namit Corbrek;<sup>9</sup> for it will othir sink, or ellis draw ane schip to it, howbeit it be distant thairfra ane mile.

Restis now to speik of the geis generit of the see, namit Clakis.<sup>10</sup> Sum men belevis, that thir clakis growis on treis be the nebbis;<sup>11</sup> bot thair opinioun is vane. And, becaus the nature and procreatioun of thir clakis is strange, we have maid na litill lauboure and deligence to serche the treuth and verite thairof. We have salit throw the seis quhare thir clakis ar bred; and findis, be gret experience, that the nature of the seis is mair relevant caus of thair procreatioun than ony uthir thing. And howbeit thir geis ar bred mony sindry wayis, thay ar bred ay allanerly be nature of the seis: for all treis that ar cassin in the seis, be proces of time apperis first worme-etin, and in the small boris and hollis thairof growis small wormis: first, thay schaw thair heid and feit, and last of all thay schaw thair plumis and wingis; finally, quhen thay ar cumin to the just mesure and quantite

<sup>1</sup> Tithes. <sup>2</sup> Dies out. <sup>3</sup> A wisp. <sup>4</sup> A snare. <sup>5</sup> Matted. <sup>6</sup> Driving out.

<sup>7</sup> Sucking. <sup>8</sup> Current, whirlpool. <sup>9</sup> Corrievreckin. <sup>10</sup> Here we have the story of the barnacles and geese. <sup>11</sup> Bills.

of geis, thay fle in the aire as othir fowlis dois: as was notably provin, in the yeir of God M.CCCC.XC, in sicht of mony pepill, beside the castell of Petslego.<sup>1</sup> Ane gret tre was brocht, be alluvion and flux of the see, to land. This wonderfull tre was brocht to the laird of the ground, quhilk sone efter gart devide<sup>2</sup> it be ane saw. Apperit than ane multitude of wormis thraving thaim self out of sindry hollis and boris of this tre. Sum of thaim war rude,<sup>3</sup> as thay war bot new schapin; sum had baith heid, feit, and wingis, bot thay had na fedderis; sum of thaim war perfit schapin fowlis. At last the pepill, havand ilk day this tre in mair admiration, brocht it to the kirk of Sanct Androis, beside the town of Tyre,<sup>4</sup> quhare it remanis yit to our dayis. And, within two yeris efter, hapnit sic ane lik tre to cum in the firth of Tay, beside Dundee, worme-etin and hollit, full of young geis in the samin maner. Siclike, in the port of Leith, beside Edinburgh, within few yeris efter, hapnit sic ane like cais. Ane schip, namit the Cristofir, efter that scho had lyin iii yeris at ane ankir in ane of thir Ilis, wes brocht to Leith; and becaus hir timmer, as apperit, failyeit, scho was brokin down: incontinent apperit, as afore, al the inward partis of hir worme-etin, and all the hollis thair of full of geis, on the samin maner as we have schawin. Attoure, gif ony man wald allege, be vane argument, that this Cristofir was maid of sic treis as grew allanerly in the Ilis, and that all the rutis and treis that growis in the said Ilis, ar of that nature to be finaly, be nature of the seis, resolvit in geis; we preif the cuntre thair of be ane notable example, schawin afore our ene. Maister Alexander Galloway, Person<sup>5</sup> of Kinkell, was with us in thir Ilis, gevand his mind, with maist ernst besines, to serche the verite of thir obscure and misty dows; and, be adventure, liftet up ane see-tangle, hingand full of mussill schellis fra the rute to the branchis. Sone efter, he opnit ane of thir mussill schellis: bot than he was mair astonist than afore; for he saw na fische in it, bot ane perfit

<sup>1</sup> Pitsligo. <sup>2</sup> Caused it to be divided. <sup>3</sup> Unformed. <sup>4</sup> Turriff. Only the choir and belfry of its ancient church now remain. The church was dedicated to St Congan, probably in the 7th century.—*Macgibbon and Ross*, v. 184.

<sup>5</sup> Parson. This Galloway deserves a passing mention as the rebuilder of the ancient church of Kinkell (now in ruins), and as having built the first bridge of Dee at Aberdeen.

schapin foule, smal and gret ay effering<sup>1</sup> to the quantite of the schell. This Clerk, knawin us richt desirus of sic uncouth thingis, come haistely with the said tangle, and opnit to us, with all circumstance afore rehersit.<sup>2</sup> Be thir, and mony othir reasonis and examplis, we can not beleif that thir clakis ar producit be ony nature of treis or rūtis thair of, bot allanerly be the nature of the oceane see, quhilk is the caus and production of mony wonderful thingis. And becaus the rude and ignorant pepil saw oftymes the frutis that fel ot the treis, quhilkis stude neir the see, convertit within schort time in geis, thay belevit that thir geis grew upon the treis, hingand be thair nebbis, siclik as appillis and uthir frutis hingis be thair stalkis. Bot thair opinioun is nocht to be sustenit; for, als sone as thir appillis or frutis fallis of the tre in the see flude, thay grow first worme-etin, and, be schort proces of time, ar alterat in geis.

Now we have schawin sufficientlie ineuch of the Ilis of Scotland, gif we had schawin ane thing; that is to say, nocht allanerlie wes the Ile of Thule, with all the remanent Ilis of Scotland sene by us, bot als wer sene be mony Romane auctouris: for Cornelius Tacitus sayis, the Romane navy, quhilk wes send about the Ilis be command of Julius Agricola, saw this Ile of Thule, with the remanent Ilis liand thairabout. And thought Ptolome writtis, that the Ile of Thule lyis amang the Ilis of Scotland, yit his writing, be provin experience, may have na faith: for Thule is mony milis distant fra Schetland; for Schetland lyis beyound Orknay, approechand to Noroway. Sum auctouris sayis, that Thule is the samin Ile that we call Island:<sup>3</sup> for thir auctouris sayis, that Thule is the last Ile of the oceane see; and sa is Island; quhilk lyis in the cauld and frosty seis beyound the cirkill artik to the north pole. The peple of Island, becaus na cornis growis in it, leiffis allanerlie of fische. Thay bray dry fische als small as meil, and baikis thaim with watter at the fire, and usis it in maner of breid.

Beyound all the Ilis of Scotland lyis Orknay; sum part to

<sup>1</sup> Proportioned. <sup>2</sup> Boece's appeal to his own eyes as vouchers for the story of the barnacles and the geese, is capped by Richard Franck, who declares that he had held in his own hand a barnacle hanging by the beak. See *E. T.*, pp. 202, 203. <sup>3</sup> Iceland.



the north-nor-west seis, and sum part to the Almane seis. The principall Ile of Orknay is Pomonia, the bishoppis seit, in quhilk ar two strong castellis.<sup>1</sup> In Orknay growis na quheit; and it is nakit of wod: all othir cornis growis in it with gret plente. Orknay hes na vennomus beistis, more than Ireland; na beist, ennime to the nature of man, may leif in Orknay. And sen we ar now fallin in speking of Ireland, howbeit it pertenis na thing to the purpos we tuke on hand, we will schaw ane wonder thair of, quhilk passis all wonderis that evir we red afore in ony othir bukis. In Ireland is ane loch, and about the samin, be mony milis, growis nothir herbe nor tre. And, gif ony tre be affixit and set down in this loch, within the space of ane yeir eftir, this tre alteris: for sa mekle of it as is hid within the erd, turnis in ane hard stane; it that is hid in the watter, turnis in irne; and sa mekle as is abone the watter, kepis the nature of the tre: and so the tre, stane, and irne, ar junit togidder under ane stok. Bot we will returne to Orknay, to schaw litill les wonderis of it. And, first, howbeit the pepill be gevin to excessive drinkin, and, be plente of beir, makis the starkest<sup>2</sup> ail of Albioun, yit nane of thaim ar sene wod,<sup>3</sup> daft, or drunken: als thay come haill and feir<sup>4</sup> in thair bodyis to extreme age, but ony use of medeinary, with strang and fair bodyis. The yowis<sup>5</sup> of this cuntre hes ay lwo lammis, or ellis thre, at anis; and of wild foull and tame, is mair fouth<sup>6</sup> in Orknay than in ony part of Albioun. Thair hors ar litill mair than asinis;<sup>7</sup> bot thay may indure mair labour than ony othir hors. To speik of fische, thair is mair aboundance thair of than ony uncouth peple may beleif. In Orknay is ane gret fische, mair than ony hors, of mervellus and incredible sleip. This fische, quhen scho beginnis to sleip, fesnis hir teith fast on ane crag abone the watter. Als sone as the marineris findis hir on sleip, thay cum with ane stark cabill in ane boit; and, eftir that thay have borit ane gret hole throw hir tale, thay fesne<sup>8</sup> hir be the samin. Als sone as this fische is awalknit, scho makis hir to leip with gret force in the see; and, fra scho find himself fast, scho writhis hir out of hir awin skin, and deis. Of the fatnes that scho

<sup>1</sup> The King's Castle and the Bishop's Palace, both in Kirkwall.    <sup>2</sup> Strongest.

<sup>3</sup> Furious.    <sup>4</sup> Sound.    <sup>5</sup> Ewes.    <sup>6</sup> Plenty.    <sup>7</sup> Asses.    <sup>8</sup> Fasten.



hes, is maid oulie in gret quantite; and of hir skin, becaus it induris lang, is maid strong cabellis. Ane hundreth milis beyound Orknay lyis Schetland; of quhilk the riches standis onlie in fische, dryit be son. Mony hidis and skinnis of oxin, scheip, gait,<sup>1</sup> and martrikis, dryit with the sonne, cumis out of this cuntre in Scotland; and, on the same maner, the marchandis of Holland, Zeland, and Almanie, cumis yeirlie to Schetland, to interchange uthir marchandyis with the peple thair of; quhilkis ar of the same nature and conditionis as the peple is of Orknay. Beyound Schetland ar mony Ilis, quhilkis leiffis on the same maner as it dois. And, thought the peple of thir Islis be pure,<sup>2</sup> yit thay leif langer, and ar better content of thair livis, than thay that hes mair welth and riches of the warld. Na contentioun is amang thaim for singulare<sup>3</sup> proffet. Ilk man providis for sa mekle fische, in the simer, as may sustene his hous agane the winter. Thir peple ar nakit of all ambitioun and vice, and nevir trublit with uncouth weris.<sup>4</sup> Amang all pleseiris, quhilkis ar josit<sup>5</sup> be mankind, thay think na thing sa gud, as to leif in concord and peace, havand ane quiet life but ony uthir displeseir. This perfection of life cumis to thaim onlie throw thair simplicitie; and followis, be the samin, the futsteppis of Crist. Ilk yeir, anis cumis to thaim ane preist out of Orknay, and ministris to thaim the sacrament of baptisme; and, eftir that he haif done his devore,<sup>6</sup> he ressavis his teindis justlie, and returnis, the samin gait<sup>7</sup> he come, to Orknay. Forthir, gif ony giftis of nature may be noumerit amang wardly guddis, I say thir Ilis hes may feliciteis and guddis than ony uthir cuntreis: for the peple thair of ar fair, lusty, and strong of body; dotat with mony giftis of nature; and hes gud heill<sup>8</sup> of body, quhilk may be preferrit to all riches, as weil knawis thir men that hes experience of lang infirmiteis. Forthir, gif the peple be maist riche, that standis sa content with thair awin guddis that thay covet na utheris, I say thir peple ar als happy as ony uthir peple of the warld. Forthir, gif ony man wald say thir thingis that I writ ar vane, considrin I wes nevir in thir Ilis; I say, I wes weil informit of thame be ane noble man, Edward,

<sup>1</sup> Goat.    <sup>2</sup> Poor.    <sup>3</sup> Individual.    <sup>4</sup> Wars.    <sup>5</sup> Enjoyed.    <sup>6</sup> Devoir, duty.

<sup>7</sup> Way.    <sup>8</sup> Health.

sum time Bischop of Orknay :<sup>1</sup> for to this Bischop come ane man out of thir Ilis, and nocht allanerlie schew thir thingis, with all circumstance afore rehersit, bot als verifit thaim be himself; for he passit the commoun stature of men, and sa wicht, that na man durst contend nor wersle<sup>2</sup> with him; and he wes fairer of visage and hide,<sup>3</sup> than wes ony lady of the warld. Be thir reasonis apperis, that the auctorite of thay auctouris is na worth, that sayis, all peple far fra the sonne ar barbour and miserable; for thair is na happiar creaturis in the warld than thir peple of thir landis forsaid. Amang the rochis and craggis of thir Ilis growis ane maner of electuar<sup>4</sup> and goun,<sup>5</sup> hewit like gold, and sa attractive of nature, that it drawis stra, flox,<sup>6</sup> or hemmis of claithis to it, on the samin maner as dois ane adamont stane. This goume is generat of see froith, quhilk is cassin up be continewal repercussion of craggis aganis the see wallis;<sup>7</sup> and, throw ithand motioun of the see, it growis als teuch<sup>8</sup> as glew, ay mair and mair; quhill, at last, it fallis down of the crag in the see. It is said, be thaim that hes experience thairof, that this goun, quhen it lyis on the crag, is like ane froith and blob of watter; becaus it is nocht than sufficientlie wrocht be motioun of the see. Oftimes the see tangle is found involvit with this goume; becaus it is doun<sup>9</sup> heir and thair sa mony wayis be alluvion of watter, and, sa lang as it fletis, it is sone involvit with ony thing that it metis. Twa yeir afore the cumin of this buke to licht, arrivit ane gret lomp of this goun in Buchquhane, als mekle as ane hors; and wes brocht hame be the hirdis, quhilkis wer kepaned thair beistis, to thair housis, and cassin in the fire. And, becaus thay fand ane smelland odour thairwith, thay schew to thair maister, that it wes ganand for the sens<sup>10</sup> that is maid in the kirkis. Thair maister was ane rud<sup>11</sup> man as thay wer; and tuke bot ane litill part thairof, and left the remanent behind him, as mater of litill effect. All the partis of this goun, quhen it wes brokin, wes of the hew of gold, and schane like the licht of ane candill. The maist part of this goun and electuare wes distroyit be rud peple, afore it come

<sup>1</sup> Edward Stewart (Keith, *Catalogue of Bishops*). <sup>2</sup> Wrestle. <sup>3</sup> Skin. <sup>4</sup> Amber.  
<sup>5</sup> Gum. <sup>6</sup> Flax. <sup>7</sup> Waves. <sup>8</sup> Tough. <sup>9</sup> Thrown. <sup>10</sup> Suitable for incense.  
<sup>11</sup> Ignorant.

to ony wise mannis eris; of quhome may be verifiyt the proverb, The sow curis na balme.<sup>1</sup> Als sone as I wes advertist thairof, I maid sic diligence, that ane part of it wes brocht to me at Abirdene. Thir ar the maist notable thingis that we culd find concerning the Ilis of Albion, Orkney, and Schetland.

Thus, it wer neidfull to put ane end to our Cosmographie, wer nocht ane uncouth and wounderfull historie taris a litill our pen. Maister James Ogilby, with uthir noble men, wes send as ambassatouris fra the maist noble prince King James the Feird to the King of France; and, be tempest of see, thay wer constranit to land in Norroway, quhare thay saw, nocht far fra thaim, mony wild men, nakit and roch,<sup>2</sup> on the same maner as thay ar paintit: and at last thay gat advertising be landwart peple, that thay wer doum beistis under the figure of men. In time of nicht, thay usit to cum in gret cumpanyis to landwart villagis; and, quhair thay find na doggis, thay brek up durris, and slayis al the peple that thay find thairintill. Als sone as thay heir the nois of doggis, thay evanis,<sup>3</sup> and dar nocht abide. Thay ar of sa huge strenth, that sum times thay pull up treis be the rutis, and fechtis thairwith amang thaim self. The ambassatouris wer astonist be thir monstouris, and maid stark waches, with gret firis birnand all nicht; and, on the morow, thay pullit up salis, and departit. Forthir, thir Norroway men schew to the said ambassatouris, that thair wes nocht far fra thaim ane peple that swomit all the simer like fische in the see, leiffand ay on fische; and in the winter, becaus the watter is cald, thay leif of wild beistis that discendis fra the montanis; and sum time bringis thir bestis hame to thair covis.

And sa endis heir the Cosmographie and Discription of Scotland.

Becaus sindry nobill men hes desirit me to schaw the auld maneris of Scottis, quhilkis ar skatterit in sindry partis of this Buke, under ane compendius treit, that it may be knawin, how far we in thir present dayis ar different fra the maneris and leiffing of our auld faderis: and thought I knaw na thing bettar, bot the schawing thairof will draw me

<sup>1</sup> *Nihil cum amaracino sui.*   <sup>2</sup> Unkempt.   <sup>3</sup> Vanish.

in hatrent of sindry gret personagis; for few ar, that may suffir thair vices to be taxit, or thaimself to be reprevit; yit, becaus I stand sum part under the reverence of thir nobill men forsaid I have condescendit as I may to thair desiris. For thay allege, it will be profitabill to the rederis; speciallie to sik men, that ar nocht gevin our immoderatlie to thair awin affectioun, nor yit our mekill sopit<sup>1</sup> in sensuall pleisir; for sik men may be reducit<sup>2</sup> fra thair errouris. And, thairfore, I intend, first, to schaw, quhat maneris hes bene amang our eldaris, baith in time of weir and peace; and be quhat ingine, wisdom, and chevelrie, thay have debatit aganis sa mony strong ennimes, howbeit thair ennimes come oftymes in this realme with maist dangerus incursionis: and, finalie, we will schaw, how the notable strenth, vigour, and soverane virtew failyeit ay the mair amang thaim that thay declinit fra the temperance of thair eldaris: quhill at last it is cumin to thir dayis, in quhilkis we leif in gret tranquillite; howbeit the samin is mair be benevolence and sleuth of our nichtbouris, than ony manlie prowis of our self. Now will I schaw, the schortest way I may, how we, in thir present dayis ar drownit in all maner of avarice and lust. Yit I belief that sic men as ar of severe life, following the temperance of thair eldaris, sall rejoyse to heir the honourable maneris of thair eldaris; utheris that ar of mair brutall and vicius life, seing thair vices taxit with sic dishonour, sall dres thaim<sup>3</sup> plesandlie to revert fra thair evil and schamefull dedis to better life. First, I suppose, that the thing that I say, in repreving the corruppit maneris of the world now present, be nocht takin in repreif of every man; bot allanerlie to sik men that leiffis with intemperance: for sik men deservis mair repreif than I may gif thaim at this time. And gif ony man findis his bile opnit for purgatioun be me, that he hide nocht his infirmite, bot erar<sup>4</sup> seik the best remeid he may, to amend his life.

Our eldaris, howbeit thay wer richt virtewis baith in weir and peace, wer maist exercit with temperance; for it is the fontane of all virtew. Thay wer of temperat sleip, meit, and drink, and sic refectionis as wer preparit with litill laubour or cost. Thair breid wes maid of sic stuf as grew

<sup>1</sup> Sunk.    <sup>2</sup> Recovered.    <sup>3</sup> Address themselves.    <sup>4</sup> Rather.



maist esalie on the ground. Thair vitallis wer nocht siftit,<sup>1</sup> as we do now, to mak thaim delicius to the mouth; bot wer all ground togidder under ane forme. The flesche maist frequent amang thame, wes othir wild flesche, won on the fellis be thair hunting, quhilk maid thaim of incredible strenth; or ellis it wes of thair awin tame bestial, specially beif, as we do yit in our dayis: howbeit we ar richt far different fra the use and custome of all uthir nationis. The steirkis,<sup>2</sup> quhen thay ar bot young velis,<sup>3</sup> ar othir slane, or ellis libbit<sup>4</sup> to be oxin, to manure the land; bot the quiokis<sup>5</sup> war nevir slane quhill thay wer with calfe, for than thay ar fattest, and maist delicius to the mouth. The common meit of our eldaris was fische; nocht for the plente of it, bot erar becaus thair landis lay oftymes waist, throw continewal exercition of chevelry, and for that caus thay leiffit maist of fische. Thay disjunit<sup>6</sup> airly in the morning with smal refectioun, and sustenit thair liffis thairwith quhil the time of sowper; throw quhilk thair stomok was nevir surfetly chargit, to empesche<sup>7</sup> thaim of uthir besines. At the sowper thay war mair large; howbeit thay had bot ane cours. Quhen thay kest thaimself to be mery, thay usit maist aqua vite; nocht maid of costly spicis, bot of sic naturall herbis as grew in thair awin yardis. The common drink that thay usit was aill; and, in time of weir, quhen thay lay in thair tentis, thay usit nocht bot watter. Ilk man had als mekill mele as micht suffice him for the day, and maid breid thairof at the fire; on the samin maner as the Romanis did, specially Antonius Caracallus, Empriour. Thay had sendill<sup>8</sup> flesche in thair campis, bot gif it war won be pray of ennimes. Thay eit, for common, flesche half raw; for the saup is maist nurisand in that maner. Attoure, thay had ay with thaim ane gret vessell, wrocht full of butter, cheis, mele, milk, and vinacre, temperit togidder; be quhilk thay saiffit thair liffis mony dayis fra extreme hungar, soukand the jus and humouris thairof, quhen na vittallis, throw incursionis of ennimes, micht be found. And, howbeit thay had peace with thair ennimes, thay sufferit nocht thair bodyis to be corruppit with sleuth; bot wer exercit othir in continewall

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, into coarse and fine. <sup>2</sup> Bullocks. <sup>3</sup> Calves. <sup>4</sup> Castrated. <sup>5</sup> Young cows. <sup>6</sup> Breakfasted. <sup>7</sup> Prevent. <sup>8</sup> Seldom.



hunting; for in that game was gret honour amang our eldaris; or ellis thay had exercition of rinning, sum times fra the planes to the montanis, and fra the montanis to the planis; or ellis thay war exercit in wirsling, or uthir corporall exercition. Thay had thair hedis ay cowit,<sup>1</sup> as the Spanyearthis usis; but ony bonet or cover, les than<sup>2</sup> thay war trublit with infirmite. Nane of thame, throw ithand<sup>3</sup> cowing of thair hedis, grew beld. Thay yeid<sup>4</sup> commonly bairfuitit; and, gif thay had ony schone,<sup>5</sup> thay dippit thaim first in the watter or thay put thaim on, specialy in winter quhen maist schill and persand stormes apperit, that thair sollis, quhilkis war hardin with the hetis of the semer and snawis of winter, suld be the mair abil to sustene laubour. Thair abulyement<sup>6</sup> was not maid be motion of insolence,<sup>7</sup> bot erar efter the general gise of the cuntre. Thair hois war maid of smal lint or woll, and yeid nevir above thair kne, to make thaim the mair waldin<sup>8</sup> and sowpill. The mantillis that thay usit in winter wes maid of gros<sup>9</sup> woll; and in semer wes maid of small and finest woll that thay nicht get. Thay slepit on benkis, or bonchis of stra, bot ony cover; and lernit thair sonnis, fra thair first yeris, to eschew eis,<sup>10</sup> and to sleip on the samin maner. Ilk moder wes nurice to her awin barne. It was ane suspicion of adultre aganis ony woman, quhare hir milk failyeit. The wemen thoct thair barnis war not tender nor kindly to thaim, bot gif thay war nurist als weill with the milk of thair breist, as thay war nurist afore with the blude of thair wambe. Attoure, thay held that thair barnis war degenerat fra thair nature and kind, gif thay war nurist with uncouth milk. Thay war sa accusomit with ithand pine<sup>11</sup> and laubouris, that thay curit<sup>12</sup> nothir the fervent heites of the semer, nor yit the schil frostis in the winter. Thay travelit maist on thair fute; and, in the time of weir, thay had thair cariagis<sup>13</sup> and vittallis turst<sup>14</sup> with thaim on thair hors: and, quhen dangeir occurrit, thay refusit na maner of besines nor laubour that nicht pertene to forsy championis.<sup>15</sup> Gif it hapnit thaim, be mischance, to be vincust,<sup>16</sup> thay fled

<sup>1</sup> Closely cut. <sup>2</sup> Unless when. <sup>3</sup> Constant. <sup>4</sup> Went. <sup>5</sup> Shoes.  
<sup>6</sup> Habiliments. <sup>7</sup> With the desire of being out of the common. <sup>8</sup> Active.  
<sup>9</sup> Coarse. <sup>10</sup> Ease. <sup>11</sup> Toil. <sup>12</sup> Cared. <sup>13</sup> Baggage. <sup>14</sup> Packed. <sup>15</sup> Stout champions. <sup>16</sup> Vanquished.

with sic spede to the montanis, that na horsmen nicht ouirtak thaim. The injure done to ony ane of thaim, was repute sa common to thaim al, that thay wald nevir evold<sup>1</sup>, the displeseir thairof out of thair hertis, quhill the samin war recompansit with the blude of thair ennimes. He that wes maist noble, desirit ertest<sup>2</sup> to fecht in the wangard, quhare his vassalage and manheid nicht be maist knawin. The nobillis and commonis contendit quhay suld be maist faithful to othir; and quhen the capitane, throw his fers spreit and hardines, apperit in ony extreme dangeir of ennimes, all the band that was of his opinion, ruschit sa fersly to his defence, that othir thay deliverit him out of that present dangeir, or ellis all at anis lois thair lives with him. The sepulturis of all nobillis war decorit with als mony hie stanis, rising about the same, as he had slane afore of ennimes in his life. He that was found in the army but flint and furisine,<sup>3</sup> or but his swerd beltit fast to his sidis, was schamefully seurgit; and he that sald his swerd, or laid it to wed,<sup>4</sup> was degradit of auctorite, and banist, as unworthy creature, out of thair cumpany. He that fled in time of battall, or departit fra the army without command of the capitane, was slane, but ony dowme,<sup>5</sup> quhare evir he nicht be apprehendit; bot his gudis war gevin to his sonne. The wemen war of litil les vassalage and strenth than was the men; for al rank madinnis and wiffis, gif thay war nocht with child, yeid als weill to battall as the men. Als sone as the army was passand forthwart, thay slew the first levand beist that thay fand; and nocht allanerly baithit thair swerdis with the blude thairof, bot taistit the samin with thair mouth, with na les religion and faith, than thay had bene than sicker of sum felicite following. Gif thay saw thair awin blude in battall, thay grew nocht astonist; bot, boldin in maist brime<sup>6</sup> fury, set thaim to revenge the samin. In all battallis assail-yeit be thaim, thay socht nevir victory be treason, falset, nor slicht; and thocht ay degrading to thair nobilite, to vincus thair ennimes with ony othir thing bot force of fechting. Thay held it for gret febilnes to revenge ony displeseir, hatrent, or slauchter, be treason; attour, sencerite and sim-pilnes was equally honorit amang thaim all. Quhen thay war

<sup>1</sup> Put away. <sup>2</sup> First. <sup>3</sup> Steel. <sup>4</sup> Pawn. <sup>5</sup> Trial. <sup>6</sup> Fierce.

to pas on thair ennimes, ilk man yeid, as we do now, upon his awin cost, except sa mony as war wagit.<sup>1</sup> He that was trublit with the falling evil, or fallin daft or wod, or havand sic infirmite as succedis be heritage fra the fader to the son, was geldit; that his infeckit blude suld spreid na forthir. The wemen that was fallin lipper,<sup>2</sup> or had ony othir infection of blude, was banist fra the cumpany of men; and, gif scho consavit barne under sic infirmite, baith scho and hir barne war buryit quik.<sup>3</sup> All dronkattis, gluttonis, and consumers of vittallis mair than was necessar to the sustentation of men, were tane, and first commandit to swelly thair fouth of quhat drink thay plesit, and incontinent thairefter was drownit in ane fresche rever. Forthir, howbeit thay had na administratioun of justice in time of weir, yit sic justice was ministerd in time of peace, that oftymes thay war our severe in thair punition; for thay knew weil, fra thair pepil wer drawin fra battall to peace, thay suld be gevin to sa mony enormiteis, that the samin nicht nocht be dantit but gret punition. For the pepill war of sic nature, als sone as thay knew thaimself gilty of ony offence committit aganis the kingis majeste or commounweill, thay set thaim to rais divisioun amang the gret princis of the realme: nochtheles, quhen thay ar tretit with soft and moderat empire, thay ar found richt humane and meke pepil, richt obeysand to reason; and nocht allanerly kepis thair faith efter the reason of thair contract, bot gevis ane gowpin,<sup>4</sup> or ellis sum thingis mair abone the just mesure that thay sell. This consuetude<sup>5</sup> is sa straitly kepit, that gif the samin be nocht done, the biar will nocht stand to the contract of merchandice. Thay usit the ritis and maneris of Egyptianis,<sup>6</sup> fra quhome thay tuk thair first beginning. In all thair secret besines, thay usit not to writ with common letteris usit amang othir pepil, bot erar with sifars and figuris of beistis maid in maner of letteris;<sup>7</sup> sic as thair epithafis, and superscriptioun abone thair sepulturis, schawis: nochtheles, this crafty maner of writing, be quhat sleuth<sup>8</sup> I can not say, is perist; and yit thay have certane letteris propir

<sup>1</sup> Hired. A mercenary was a *wageour*. <sup>2</sup> Leprous. <sup>3</sup> Alive. <sup>4</sup> A handful. <sup>5</sup> Custom. <sup>6</sup> According to the legend *Scota*, the daughter of Pharaoh, gave her name to Scotland. <sup>7</sup> Boece is doubtless thinking of the various Celtic sculptures throughout the country. <sup>8</sup> Sloth.

amang thaimself, quhilkis war sum time vulgar and commoun. Forthir, thay that spekis with the auld tounge of that cuntre, hes thair asperatioun, thair diptongis, and thair pronounciation, better than ony othir pepill. The commonis ar nocht exercit thairwith; bot allanerly thay that dwellis in the hie partis of the land: and, becaus thir men hes thair langage mair eloquent and propir than the commonis hes, thay ar callit poetis; and makis poetis, effering<sup>1</sup> to thair eruditioun and science, with mony gret cerimonyis. Beside mony craftis and science, quhilkis thay have translatit in thair awin tounge, thay profes maist the science of medcinary, and ar richt excellent in it; for thay knaw the nature of every herbe that growis in thay cuntreis, and curis all maner of maledyis thairwith. Heirfore I say, thair is na region in the warld sa barrant nor unfrutfull, be distance fra the sonne, bot, be providence of God, al maner of necessaryis, to the sustentatioun of man, may be gottin plesandly in it, gif thair war sic pepill that culd laubour it, effering to the nature thairrof. Nochtheles, as our eldaris, quhilkis dwelt continewally merchand with the realme of Ingland, lernit the Saxonis tounge, be frequent jeoperdeis and chance of battall, sustenit mony yeris aganis thaim; sa the pepill, now present in Scotland, hes tint<sup>2</sup> baith the langage and maneris of writing usit sum time be our eldaris, and hes now ane new maner of writingis and langage: howbeit, the Hieland hes baith the writingis and langage as thay had afore, mair ingenius than ony othir pepill. How may thair be ane greter ingine, than to make ane bait<sup>3</sup> of ane bull hid,<sup>4</sup> bound with na thing bot wandis? This bait is callit ane currok;<sup>5</sup> with the quhilk thay fische salmond, and sum time passis our gret rivers thairwith; and, quhen thay have done thair fisching, thay beir it to ony place, on thair bak, quhare thay pleis. Bot we wil return to the maneris of our anciant freindis.

Be chance of sindry seasonis, specially about the time of King Malcolme Canmore, al thingis began to change. For quhen oure nichtbouris, the Britonis, war maid effeminat be lang sleuth, and dounge<sup>6</sup> out of Britane be the Saxonis in Walis, we began to have alliance, be proximate of Romanis,

<sup>1</sup> According to. <sup>2</sup> Lost. <sup>3</sup> Boat. <sup>4</sup> Hide. <sup>5</sup> Better known under the form *coracle*. <sup>6</sup> Driven.

with Inglismen; specially efter the exterminatioun of Pichtis: and, be frequent and daily cumpany of thaim, we began to rute thair langage and superflew<sup>1</sup> maneris in oure breistis; throw quhilk the virtew and temperance of our eldaris began to be of litil estimation amang us. Than we war gevin, efter the arrogance and pride of Inglismen, to vane glore and ambution of honouris, and began that time to seke new names of nobilite; howbeit, afore thay dayis, he was maist nobil, that was decorit mair with virtew than riches, confiding mair in his awin dedis, than in ony dedis of his eldaris. Than began, in Scotland, the maneris of Dukis,<sup>2</sup> Erlis, Lordis, and Baronis; for afore thay dayis, the principall men of Scotland under the king war callit Thanis, that is to say, Gadderaris of the Kingis malis;<sup>3</sup> and war ay rewardit be the king, as thair faith and virtew deservit. But now I beleif nane hes sic eloquence, nor fouth of langage, that can sufficiently declare, how far we, in thir present dayis, ar different fra the virtew and temperance of our eldaris.<sup>4</sup> For quhare our eldaris had sobriete, we have ebriete and dronkinnes; quhare thay had plente with sufficence, we have immoderat cursis with superfluite; as he war maist noble and honest, that culd devore and swelly maist: and, be extreme deligence, serchis sa mony deligat coursis, that thay provoke the stomok to ressave mair than it may sufficiently degest; throw quhilk we ingorge and fillis our self, day and nicht, sa full of metis and drinkis, that we can nocht abstene, quhill our wambe be sa swon, that it is unabil to ony virtewis occupation. And nocht allanerly may surfet dennar and sowper suffice us, abone the temperance of oure eldaris, bot als to continew our schamefull and immoderit voracite with duple dennaris and sowparis; throw quhilk mony of us ganis to<sup>5</sup> na othir besines bot to fil and teme our wembe. Attour to continew this schamefull intemperance, abone the necessar sustentation of nature, we geif us to sic unhappy

<sup>1</sup> Luxurious. <sup>2</sup> The first dukedoms in Scottish history, those of Albany and Ross, were not created till 1398. <sup>3</sup> Dues. <sup>4</sup> Buchanan expresses the same opinion as to the ill effects of the English immigration during the reign of David I. "Malcolm," he says, "made all but fruitless attempts to check the luxury which, already prevalling through the presence of multitudes of English and the intercourse with other countries, now, through the entertainment of many exiles of English race over the whole country, began to be a serious evil." <sup>5</sup> Are fit for,



laubour, that na fische in the see, nor foule in the aire, nor best in the wod, may have rest; bot socht heir and thair, to satisfy the hungry appetit of gluttonis. Nocht allanerly ar winis socht in France, bot in Spaine, Italy, and Grece; and, sum time, baith Aphrik and Asia socht, for new delicius metis and winis, to the samin effect. Thus is the warld sa uterly socht, that all maner of droggis and electuaris, that may nuris the lust and insolence of pepill, ar brocht in Scotland, with maist sumptuus price, to na les dammage than perdition of the pepill thair of: for, throw this immoderat glutony, our wit and reason ar sa blindit within the presoun of the body, that it may have no knowlage of hevinly thingis; for the body is involvit with sic clowdis of fatnes, that, howbeit it be of gud complexioun be nature, it is sa opprest with superflew metis and drinkis, that it may nothir weild, nor yit our the self; bot, confessand the self vincust, gevis place to all infirmiteis, quhill it be miserably distroyit: as apperis be sindry experience. For mony of our pepill, in remot and in maist cauld region, ar strikin oftymes with maist vehement fever, thair inwart bowellis blesand as thay war in ane ithand fire; quhillkis cumis of sic spicery and uncouth droggis, brocht out of remot cuntreis in this regioun. Utheris of thaim ar sa swollin, and growin full of humouris, that thay ar strikin haistely deid in the poplesy;<sup>1</sup> and, howbeit thay recover for ane schort time efter, thay ar bot ane deid pepill; levand, and buryit in sepulture, havand bot ane schadow of life. The young pepill and barnis, following thir unhappy customis of thair faderis, gevis thameself to lust and insolence, havand all virtuous occupation and craftis in contemptioun; and, becaus thay ar lang customit and hantit thairwith, quhen time occurris of weir to defend the cuntre, thay ar sa effeminat and soft, thay pas on hors as hevy martis;<sup>2</sup> and ar sa fat and growin, that thay may do na thing in compare of the soverane manheid of thair eldaris. Als sone as thay ar returnit hame, becaus thair guddis ar not sufficient to nuris thame in voluptuus life and pleseir of thair wambe, thay ar gevin to all maner of avarice; and othir castis thame to be strang and maistrifull thevis, or ellis sewaris of dissention among the nobillis.

<sup>1</sup> Apoplexy. <sup>2</sup> Oxen.

Thir, and mony othir enormiteis following thaim, procedis originaly fra the fontane of voluptuus leving and intemperance. Nochttheles, wald we refrene us thairfra, I wait thair is na region under the sonne mair halsum, nor les subdewit to pestilence; nor yit mair commodius and nurisand of the life of man. Yit I am nocht sa disparit, bot traistis, within schort time, that all corruppit maneris of our pepill sal be reparit to ane better fassoun: for nocht allanerly, in sindry partis of this realme, remanis yit the futsteppis of mony auld virtewis usit sum time amang our eldaris, bot als risis every day new fervent devotioun, to the ornament of Cristin faith. Ane thing I will say, under reverence of uthir realmes; thair was nevir pepill mair sicker in the Cristin faith, nor yit mair constant in thair faithful promis, than the Scottis hes bene, ay sen thair first beginning; and, thairfore, I say ane thing finaly, nocht allanerly for thair loving, bot als in exhortation of thair perseverance: In sa far as our pepill, presently levand in this region, passis thair eldaris in sumptuus and riatus abulyement, in sa far thay ar mair eligrant and honest in thair housis and letteris, and mair magnificent than afore in ornament of thair kirkis and templis. Thus want thay na maner of virtew that thair eldaris had, except the temperance of thair bodyis: to quhilk mot bring thame haistely the blissit Lord!<sup>1</sup> Amen.

<sup>1</sup> In this glowing contrast between the manners of his contemporaries and those of ancient Scotland, Boece is as usual carried away by his desire for strong effects. His picture of the times before David I. is a purely fancy sketch, worked up from materials drawn from his classical reading; and his account of the Scotland of his own day suggests the Rome of Juvenal or Leo X. Still we have seen from certain Acts of Parliament that Boece was not without justification in denouncing the habits of self-indulgence that of recent years had begun to prevail in Scotland. It should be said, also, that the subject was one that lay near Boece's heart. In his lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen, he more than once sighs over the contrast between the luxurious habits of the clergy of his own day, as contrasted with those of their predecessors.

## ALEXANDER ALESIIUS.

### EDINBURGH IN 1529.

BY the beginning of the 16th century, Edinburgh had come to be the acknowledged centre of the national life. "The chief city of Scotland," says John Major, "is Edinburgh." "Froissart," he adds, "compares Edinburgh to Tournay or Valenciennes; for a hundred years, however, the kings of the Scots have had their residence almost constantly in that city."<sup>1</sup> The following description of Edinburgh, therefore,—the earliest in prose we possess,—gives us a measure of the civilisation the country had attained where the national life expressed itself in its highest form. The description was written by Alexander Alane,<sup>2</sup> better known as Alesius, one of the most notable Scotsmen of his generation, and who had as chequered a history as any of the numberless "Scots abroad." Born in Edinburgh in 1500, he studied in the University of St Andrews, where, under the influence of the teaching and example of Patrick Hamilton, he adopted the new opinions of Luther. Driven from the country as a heretic, he travelled in France, Denmark, and Belgium, finally settling as professor of Theology in Leipzig, where he died in 1565. His description of Edinburgh was written for Sebastian Munster's *Cosmographia*, which was published at Basel in 1550. As Alesius left his native country in 1529, and never returned, his description must apply to a period not later than that date. Considering the scale of Edinburgh in the 16th century, it was no great feat of memory on the part of a native to recall its main streets and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 42, above. <sup>2</sup> *Alesse*, or *Ales*, is usually given as the English equivalent of *Alesius*; but Professor Peter Lorimer (*Precursors of the Reformation*—Patrick Hamilton, Note W) has given good reason for believing that Alane was the original name. Alesius (exile, or wanderer) was adopted as a kind of punning equivalent.

buildings, even though he had not seen them for more than twenty years.—The original Latin of Alesius was reprinted in the first volume of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, and a translation appears in Chambers's *Reekiana*. The translation that follows is my own.

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EDINBURGH is situated in the province of Lothian, a Roman mile<sup>1</sup> to the south of an arm of the sea, into which the river Forth empties itself from the west. To the east of the town itself are two mountains, the one called Arthur's Seat, the other, which faces the north, the Hill of the Wild Boar.<sup>2</sup> The surrounding country is extremely fertile, with pleasant meadows, little woods, lakes, streamlets, and more than a hundred castles,<sup>3</sup> all within the radius of a German mile.<sup>4</sup> To the north, as has been said, at the distance of a Roman mile, is an arm of the sea, and near it the town of Leith, in the heart of which a harbour has been constructed where at one time may be seen a hundred large ships of burden. At this point the arm of the sea to the north is seven miles in breadth. On its north border there is also a town and a new harbour. Edinburgh, like Prague, is situated on a hill, and is a Roman mile in length, and half a mile in breadth. It is longest from east to west. At the western extremity of the city rises a hill and a steep rock, and on the rock a fortress, with a deep valley on all sides except towards the city. Except from the east side, therefore, the fortress is impregnable.<sup>5</sup> It cannot even be scaled with ladders, so

<sup>1</sup> Rather less than an English mile. <sup>2</sup> The Calton Hill. The origin of the name *Hill of the Wild Boar* is unknown. According to Lord Hailes (*Annals*, i. 96), Moutrie's Hill (now the site of St James's Square) meant the *Covert of the Wild Boar*. The Calton Hill was also at one time known as *Neil's Craigs*. See description of Edinburgh in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, and *Early Travellers*, p. 214, where Richard Franck applies this name to it. <sup>3</sup> Fynes Moryson and the Duc de Rohan, who visited Edinburgh in 1598 and 1600 respectively, both note the number of gentlemen's seats in the neighbourhood of the town (*Early Travellers*, pp. 83, 93). <sup>4</sup> About six English miles. <sup>5</sup> Alesius had good reason to remember the steepness of the rock, as he narrowly escaped death when playing there as a child. Some, he tells us, attributed his preservation to portions of Scripture he wore about his neck, others to his guardian angel. He himself found the explanation in the faith of his parents (Mackenzie, *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*, ii. 144).





MAP OF EDINBURGH AND LEITH, from the *Cosmographia* of SEBASTIAN MUNSTER (Basel, 1550).

- |                         |                          |                      |                       |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| A Palatium regis.       | B Arx puellarum.         | C Ecclesia Cutberti. | D Ecclesia S. Egidii. |
| E Minoritae.            | F Ecclesia beatae Mariae | G Collegium reginae. | H Prædicatores.       |
| K Monasterium S. Crucis | in capō.                 |                      |                       |





steep and hard is the rock, in which vultures are in the habit of building. Enterprising youths are let down from the castle in baskets to rob their nests. This fortress is known as the "Maidens' Castle," and forms the western limit of the city. At the eastern extremity is the splendid monastery of the Holy Rood, adjoining the royal palace, and delightful gardens, enclosed by a lake at the base of Arthur's Seat. In this mountain are found precious stones (specially diamonds) which glitter in the sunlight. Two great ways lead from the Maidens' Castle to the monastery and the royal palace, paved with square stones, King's Street (*Regia Via*<sup>1</sup>) being the more notable. There is a suburb to the east,<sup>2</sup> half a mile long, known as the street of St Cuthbert.<sup>3</sup> The city possesses many monasteries and churches, specially those of the Franciscans,<sup>4</sup> the Dominicans,<sup>5</sup> the Church of St Mary in the Fields,<sup>6</sup> the College of Priests,<sup>7</sup> another College of the Trinity,<sup>8</sup> and the Hospital of St Thomas.<sup>9</sup> The city itself is not built of brick, but of natural stones squared, so that even the private houses may bear a comparison with great palaces. In the centre of the city are the town-house<sup>10</sup> (*capitolium*) and the Collegiate Church of St Giles. The bishops, dukes, earls, barons, and the chief men of the whole kingdom all live in palaces of their own, when they are summoned to the meetings of Parliament. The King's Palace, a spacious and magnificent building, and one broad way, known as King's Street, connect it with the Maidens' Castle. This street, it should be said, is wider near the castle and narrower near the monastery, and on each side of it are

<sup>1</sup> *Regia Via* is the term used in old writs for the king's highway. This indicates that *High Street* has the same origin as *highway*. <sup>2</sup> This should, of course, be the *west*. <sup>3</sup> Afterwards called *Portsburgh*, the gate of which, built in 1514, was long the principal entrance of Edinburgh from the west. <sup>4</sup> Old Greyfriars. <sup>5</sup> The monastery of the Black Friars, which stood on the site of the old High School. <sup>6</sup> Better known as *Kirk of Field*. <sup>7</sup> Chambers conjectured that this building stood on the east side of the *College Wynd*. <sup>8</sup> It stood at the foot of *Leith Wynd*, and was demolished in 1846 to make way for the North British Railway. <sup>9</sup> In the *Canongate*. It was pulled down in 1778. <sup>10</sup> "This is rather a doubtful expression," says the *Bannatyne Club* editor, "as no town-house (unless the Provost of St Giles's house be considered such) or *tolbooth* is known to have stood in the vicinity of the church earlier than the year 1561."

noteworthy houses, the more ambitious being built of polished stone. Another oblong street (reckoned as a suburb), the Canongate (Vicus Canonicorum), is somewhat narrower, and is separated from King's Street by a wall, a gate, and towers. From King's Street to north and south extend numberless lesser streets, all adorned with imposing buildings, such, for example, as the Cowgate (Via Vaccarum), where the nobility and the chief men of the city reside, and in which are the palaces of the officers of state, and where is nothing mean or tasteless, but all is magnificent. Among the greater churches of Edinburgh, after the surpassing basilica of the monastery, that of St Giles in the centre of King's Street holds the first place. In the street that separates Edinburgh from the Cowgate and suburb is a magnificent church called the Queen's College within the Walls.<sup>1</sup> Also, between the monasteries of the Franciscans and the Preaching Friars is the Church of St Mary in the Fields, where is likewise a college of priests. Under the rock of the Maidens' Castle is the new parish church of St Cuthbert.

<sup>1</sup> The same as the church styled above, the Collegiate Church of the Trinity.

## DUNBAR.

### EDINBURGH ABOUT 1500.

IN the foregoing description we have a picture of the external appearance of Edinburgh in the beginning of the 16th century: the following stanzas of Dunbar bring before us the life of its streets as it might have been seen any day about the same period.<sup>1</sup> The poems of Dunbar abound with passages that reflect the manners of his time; but, faithful as they may be, none have the special historical value of these verses. Such poems as "Of Solistaris at Court," and "Tydingis fra the Sessioun," doubtless describe a real state of things in the country, yet the follies of Courts and the delays of the law were not peculiar to the Scotland of the days of Dunbar. The satire of these poems, therefore, has no specific application to Scotland, and has its parallel in the poets of all countries of every age. In his "Address to the Merchantis of Edinburgh," however, we have the distinctive picture of a sight which Dunbar had daily looked upon with his own eyes. Historically it has the truth and precision of the prose description by Alesius of the streets and buildings of the town. As a picture of the capital, moreover, it must be held to be a picture on an enlarged scale of the popular life in the minor towns of Scotland at the same period.

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#### TO THE MERCHANTIS OF EDINBURGH.

WHY will ye, Merchantis of renoun,  
Lat Edinburgh, your nobill toun,  
For laik<sup>2</sup> of reformatioun,  
The commone proffeitt tyne<sup>3</sup> and fame?  
Think ye nocht schame

<sup>1</sup> The date of these stanzas cannot be precisely determined. David Laing has suggested the year 1500. Dunbar's Poems, pp. 283-4. But see below.

<sup>2</sup> Lack. <sup>3</sup> Lose.

That ony uther regioun  
Sall with dishonour hurt your Name ?

May nane pas throw your principall Gaittis,  
For stink of haddockis and of scaittis ;  
For cryis of earlingis and debaittis ;  
For fensum <sup>1</sup> flyttingis <sup>2</sup> of defame :

Think ye nocht schame,  
Befoir strangeris of all estaittis  
That sic dishonour hurt your Name ?

Your stinkand Scule <sup>3</sup> that standis dirk <sup>4</sup>  
Haldis the lycht fra your Parroche kirk ; <sup>5</sup>  
Your foirstairis <sup>6</sup> makis your housses mirk, <sup>7</sup>  
Lyk na cuntray bot heir at hame :

Think ye nocht schame,  
Sa little polesie to work  
In hurt and sklander of your Name ?

At your hie Croce, <sup>8</sup> quhair gold and silk  
Sould be, thair is bot crudis <sup>9</sup> and milk ;  
And at your Trone <sup>10</sup> but cokill <sup>11</sup> and wilk, <sup>12</sup>  
Paunches, <sup>13</sup> pudingis of Jok and Jame : <sup>14</sup>

Think ye nocht schame,  
Sen <sup>15</sup> as the world sayis that ilk <sup>16</sup>  
In hurt and sclander of your Name ?

Your commone Menstrallis, <sup>17</sup> hes no tone  
Bot " Now the day dawis," and " Into Joun ; " <sup>18</sup>  
Cuningar men man <sup>19</sup> serve Sanct Cloun, <sup>20</sup>  
And nevir to uther craftis clame :

Think ye nocht schame,

<sup>1</sup> Offensive. <sup>2</sup> Scoldings. <sup>3</sup> This is supposed to be an error for *Style*. See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 14th June 1886, for a sketch of the north side of the Tolbooth and the Luckenbooths. <sup>4</sup> Gloomy. <sup>5</sup> St Giles'. <sup>6</sup> The outside stairs. <sup>7</sup> Dark. <sup>8</sup> The cross that stood in the middle of the High Street. <sup>9</sup> Curds. <sup>10</sup> The Tron, or public beam for weighing, near the present Tron Church. <sup>11</sup> Cockles. <sup>12</sup> Periwinkles. <sup>13</sup> Laing suggests *tripe* and *haggis*. <sup>14</sup> The nature of these puddings has not been ascertained. <sup>15</sup> Since. <sup>16</sup> Same. <sup>17</sup> Most of the towns in Scotland had such minstrels in their pay. <sup>18</sup> The first of these two tunes is mentioned by other early Scottish poets. <sup>19</sup> Must. <sup>20</sup> The meaning is that more skilful artists must play the clown. See Murray, *Hist. Dict.*, sub voce *Clown*.



To hold sic mowaris in the moune,<sup>1</sup>  
In hurt and sclander of your Name ?

Tailyouris, Soutteris, and craftis vyll,  
The fairest of your streitis dois fyll ;<sup>2</sup>  
And merchandis at the stinkand styll<sup>3</sup>  
As hamperit in ane hony-came :<sup>4</sup>

Think ye nocht schame,  
That ye have nether witt not wyll<sup>5</sup>  
To win your self ane bettir Name ?

Your Burgh of beggaris<sup>6</sup> is ane nest,  
To schout thai swenyouris<sup>7</sup> will nocht rest ;  
All honest folk they do molest,  
Sa piteouslie thai cry and rame :<sup>8</sup>

Think ye nocht schame,  
That for the poore hes no thing drest,<sup>9</sup>  
In hurt and sclander of your Name ?

Your proffeitt daylie dois incress,  
Your godlie workis less and less ;  
Through streittis nane may mak progress,  
For cry of cruikit, blind, and lame :

Think ye nocht schame,  
That ye sic substance dois possess,  
And will nocht win ane bettir Name ?

Sen for the Court and the Session,  
The great repair of their regioun  
Is in your Burgh,<sup>10</sup> thairfor be boun<sup>11</sup>  
To mend all faultis that ar to blame,  
And eschew schame ;

<sup>1</sup> Mockers of the moon. <sup>2</sup> Defile. <sup>3</sup> The narrow passage extending from the north side of St Giles's Church between the Tolbooth, and the houses which formed the Kramse, to the opposite side of the street now called the Luckenbooths (Laing). <sup>4</sup> Honeycomb. <sup>5</sup> Wile. <sup>6</sup> In an Act of Queen Mary it is stated that owing to the number of beggars "nane may pass throw the streittis for *raming and crying upon thame*" (Laing). <sup>7</sup> Sturdy beggars. <sup>8</sup> Shout. <sup>9</sup> That there is no provision for the poor. <sup>10</sup> A Daily Council fixed at Edinburgh by James IV. in 1503 superseded the ambulatory Sessions Court instituted by James I. in 1457 (Sheriff Mackay, *Practice of the Court of Session*, l. p. 13). From this fact we may infer that the poem was written at a later date than that suggested by David Laing. <sup>11</sup> Prepared.

Gif thai pas to ane uther Toun  
Ye will decay, and your great Name ?

Thairfor strangeris and leigis treit,<sup>1</sup>  
Tak nocht ouer meikle for thair meit,  
And gar your Merchandis be discreit  
That na extortiounnes be proclaime,  
Awfrand <sup>2</sup> ane schame :  
Keip ordour, and poore nychtbouris be it,<sup>3</sup>  
That ye may gett ane bettir Name ?

Singular <sup>4</sup> proffeit so dois yow blind,  
The common proffeit gois behind ;  
I pray that Lord remeid to fynd  
That deit <sup>5</sup> into Jerusalem ;  
And gar yow schame !  
That sum tyme ressoun may yow bind  
For to [reconqueis] yow guid Name.

<sup>1</sup> Treat kindly. <sup>2</sup> Offering. <sup>3</sup> Help. <sup>4</sup> Selfish. <sup>5</sup> Died.

## BISHOP LESLIE

(1578).

WRITTEN half a century later than that of Hector Boece, the History of Scotland by Bishop Leslie is altogether a more serious performance. As will be seen from the extracts that follow, Leslie is hardly less credulous than Boece as to freaks of nature and his country's legends. In Leslie's regard, indeed, Boece's only faults as a historian were a certain "diffuseness and prolixity."<sup>1</sup> Though, like Boece, however, he adorns his narrative with all manner of strange stories, and, like him, seriously relates the life and acts of King Fergus, who flourished in the third century before Christ, the whole character of Leslie's History suggests a more educated public opinion, and a graver intention on the part of its author. Born in 1527, some sixty years later than Boece, Leslie had behind him the immense intellectual development that had taken place in Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century. From the circumstances of his life he was never subjected to the influences of his century in such degree as Buchanan, who by his long residence abroad was equally moulded by the ideas of the renaissance and the religious revolution. Still, writing at the time he did, Leslie could not but command a larger survey of human affairs than either Major or Boece. At the time he wrote the part of his History here produced he had passed his fortieth year, and had played a prominent part in the struggle between Mary and her Protestant subjects. As a picture of his native country, therefore, as it appeared to a Scotsman of Leslie's experience and accomplishments, the following extract has a historic value, which justifies our giving it in full.

<sup>1</sup> De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Scotorum (Ad Nobilitatem Populumque Scoticum Parænesis).

Originally, Leslie meant his History only as a supplement to the work of Boece, who stops short at the death of James I. The first portion of Leslie's History to be written, therefore, was his account of the period from the death of James I. to the year 1562. This first instalment was written in Scots in 1570, during his residence in England in connection with the imprisonment of Queen Mary.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, during his exile on the Continent, Leslie published in Latin his complete History of Scotland, the first seven books being mainly an epitome of Boece, and the last three his original sketch done into Latin.<sup>2</sup> It was published at Rome in 1578, and is accompanied with a map of Scotland, which, according to Gough, is the earliest printed map of the country.<sup>3</sup> About 1596 a translation of Leslie's History into Scots was made by Father James Dalrymple, a monk of St James's, Ratisbon, but remained in manuscript till it was published for the Scottish Text Society by the Rev. Father Cody.<sup>4</sup> Though interesting from a philological point of view, this translation has little of the charm which makes Bellenden such pleasant reading. The reproduction of the Latin idioms of the original is not only harsh and ungraceful, but often renders the meaning obscure, and at times impossible to be caught without the help of the original. As a modern translation, however, could not have the interest that belongs to the old Scots, it seemed best for our present purpose to let Dalrymple be Leslie's interpreter.

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#### THE SOUTH COUNTRYIS OF THE REALME.

THE first prouince of the formest parte is the Merse quhilke marches with Laudian,<sup>5</sup> and quhair the riuer Tuede entiris in the gret sey, att the wattir of Forth. This

<sup>1</sup> This portion of Leslie's History was first published by the Bannatyne Club in 1830. <sup>2</sup> The copy of this edition in the Library of the University of Edinburgh which I have used, bears the following inscription: D. Richardus Metellanus primogenitus Domini de Hatton me Bibliothecæ Edinburgenæ (*sic*) dono dedit, 1671. <sup>3</sup> In the facsimile reprint of Leslie's History in 1675 the map does not appear. <sup>4</sup> I am permitted by the kindness of the Scottish Text Society to make use of this translation. <sup>5</sup> Lothian.

cuntrey is plentiful of corne, as that cuntrey quhilke is thair nychtbouris, Tifedale,<sup>1</sup> frome the Riuer called Tifus that rinnis intill Tuede, sa named. Baith thir cuntreyes aboundes baith in mony and baulde men of Weir, for because of the frequent weiris betuene Scotis and Ingles the inhabitours of thay pairtes, quha ar not diuydet frome the Inglesmen be sum kynd of way, be a wattir or a hill, and thay ar mair expert in ordiring a battell than vtheris. Thir Mersemen in our age, against the suddan entring of the ennemie, to lat sie quhan danger is, thay kendle bleises<sup>2</sup> in tour heidis, or heicher places, as the maner thair is; mentione is maid that in the space of xxiv. hours ten thousand horsmen war gathired thair. Thir haue bot few wodis, and verie litle elding<sup>3</sup> to thair fyre, in quhilkes al our cuntrey does abund, excepte that parte, quhairthrouch cumis that thay Reid<sup>4</sup> for wod vse, cheiflie the Mersmen, to thair fyre. In thame ar mony noblemen and almaist all, bot cheiflie the mersmen, thay manure<sup>5</sup> Justice and thay studie to politike effaires: Surlie verie vnlyke ar thay to all the rest of the bordirmen round about, quha nathir in peace or weire can be stainchet<sup>6</sup> from taking the pray. Merse has ane fyne and ane strenthie toun quhais name is Berrik quhilke oft hes bene in the Inglesmenis handis, and now<sup>7</sup> is, and oft hes bene in the Scottis menis handes in lyk maner. The merse cheiflie hes thir tounes, Duncce, out of quhilke cam that celebrat doctour called Subtilis:<sup>8</sup> than Dunglasse,<sup>9</sup> a fair collegiat kirke, and weil decoret: than Langtoun,<sup>10</sup> than Hume, Fastcastell, and finallie verie mony strang castellis in thay partes.

In Tifedale the cheif toun is named Jedburghe, and than Kelsoch.<sup>11</sup> In thir twa prouinces war four notable and riche monasteries; to wit, Melrosse, Jedburghe, Kelsow, and Kowdinghame,<sup>12</sup> quhilkes war mounkes all. Twa in lyke maner of haly nunis, haueng twa houses of pietie appoynted for thame,

<sup>1</sup> Teviotdale. <sup>2</sup> Bale fires. See above, p. 25. <sup>3</sup> Fuel. <sup>4</sup> Reeds. <sup>5</sup> Cultivate, cherish. The original is "justitiam colunt." <sup>6</sup> Restrained (*compesci*). <sup>7</sup> From 1482. <sup>8</sup> Duns Scotus. Major also (*Hist. Maj. Brit.*, iv. xvi) claims him as a fellow-countryman. <sup>9</sup> The Collegiate Church, of which Leslie speaks, was built about the middle of the 14th century by Sir Thomas Hume (*O.S.A.*, vii. 409). <sup>10</sup> Langton, a central parish of Berwickshire. <sup>11</sup> Kelso. <sup>12</sup> Coldingham. The meaning is that there were religious houses in all these places.



thay ar to say, Caldstreme<sup>1</sup> and Eccles.<sup>2</sup> I heir speciallie make mentione of the Monasteries because thair yeirlye rentis for na iniure<sup>3</sup> that yit in the Realme has bene done, is nocht yit violat, how mekil sa evir thair places afor thir xxx. yeirs the furies of thir wod<sup>4</sup> men throuch the hail Realme haue castne doune.

Beyonde Tifedale, gif rycht be the bordiris of the lande ye gang toward the coste, is thair Liddisdale, sa named frome the flude Lidder,<sup>5</sup> quhair is baith ane strenthie and ancient castell, called the Eremitage.<sup>6</sup> Thaireftir is Eskdale named frome the flude Eske that rinis throuch thay feildes and hes the name thairfra. This lykewyse rinis intill Tuede.<sup>7</sup>

Neist this lyes Eusdale sa named frome the riuer Euos<sup>8</sup> quhilke rinnis in the river of Annan and thair endis. Farther at the coste of the Irishe Sey, quhilke vthiris names Vergiuim is Anandale, sa named frome the riuer of Anan forsaide, quhair lykwyse is a toune of the same name. Our cuntrey men vses valayes to cal dales: sum agane quha names thame nocht dales, names thame portiounis,<sup>9</sup> quhairfor al the south cuntreyes by Merse and Laudiane haue this worde dale affixte to thair portione sa named frome the nerrest riuer or burne. Bot in the West and beyonde the Water of Forth northwarde, thay name al thair cuntreyes athir with proper names, or frome the worde strath (quhilke signifies a vally) conioynet to the nerrest riuer. Ganging about the coste of Anandale, quhilke the hiland seyes<sup>10</sup> flowis till, northward, will occur Nidisdale sa named frome the water of Nid.<sup>11</sup> This cuntrey at the bordour is narow, bot in the midcuntrey it is sumthing baith braider and wyder; heir is a toune nathir base nor of simple digrie, to name Dunfrese, famous in fyne claith. The inhabitouris,

<sup>1</sup> Of the Cistercian priory for nuns, at Coldstream, founded in 1143 by Cospatrick, Earl of March, not a stone now remains. <sup>2</sup> St Mary's Cistercian nunnery, founded in 1155. Both town and nunnery were burned in 1545 by the Earl of Hertford. <sup>3</sup> Injury. <sup>4</sup> Infatuated. The reference is, of course, to the Protestant Reformers. <sup>5</sup> Liddel. <sup>6</sup> Hermitage Castle, in parish of Castleton, founded in 1244, and thus "about the oldest baronial building in Scotland" (Hill Burton, quoted in *O.G.S.*). <sup>7</sup> The Esk flows into the Solway. <sup>8</sup> Ewes, which flows into the Esk and not the Annan. <sup>9</sup> Orig. *portio*. <sup>10</sup> The original is *Hibernicum mare*, the Irish Sea. <sup>11</sup> Nith.

as we said afor, because in hett weiris<sup>1</sup> thay yok ofte with the Inglismen, thay ar ay in radines, and al ar horsmen.

Neist this lyes Galloway, in deid a large prouince, and diuidet into twa partes, of quhilkes the ane quhilke frome the water of Crie<sup>2</sup> lyes toward Nidisdale, is named Galloway inferiour; bot the vther, superiour is called. Baith abundes in fertilitie of the ground, and nobill pastorall. Farther it is nobilitate in fyne wole and quhyt, sa is it cheiffie in aumbling horse. It hes thir tounes Kircoubrie, Wigtoune, and the Quhyt Case,<sup>3</sup> al the thrie gude seypottes, and verie necessar for the commodious receiuing of schipis. The quhyte Case being a Bischopes sait, was lykwyse afor the hæresie began, decored with a famous and fair monasterie. Thair was S. Ninian the oy,<sup>4</sup> as we beleiue, of S. Martine, Doctour maist famous of the Paychtes,<sup>5</sup> the Scottis, and the Britanis, and the first institutor of this Bischopes sait, was visited maist religiouslie with the peple of the hail Ile, quhair mony sygnes be God war schawne and wonndiris. Bot Wigtoune waris<sup>6</sup> the vthir 2 baith in citiyenis and riches. In Galloway ar horsmen, Barounes, and vthiris noble men mony: bot the grettest parte of the cuntrey is dedicate to the Kirk; for it hes by<sup>7</sup> the Bischopes sait, and a collegeyiate kirke called Glencluden,<sup>8</sup> it hes, I say, mony monasteries in quhilkes Glenluse, and the quhyte Case or S. Ninianis ar principall. I passe now by the new monasterie, or of Sweit<sup>9</sup> Hartes sa named because it had sa lang continued in a happie state of sa haly religious men, sik as Drundrennen, Salsiden,<sup>10</sup> our Ladyes Inche,<sup>11</sup> quhais kirkes all and elostiris through the wisdome and autoritie of certane illustir and nobill men standis yit haill. This cuntrey sindrie fresche water lochis hes; that abundes in mony kyndes of fische, cheiffie in thrie, Killine,<sup>12</sup> Skait, and Makrell, farther twa gret bosums ar in the sey, quhilkes we commonlie call lochis of salte water; quhilkes ar diuidet frome the inhabitaris of the mule<sup>13</sup> of Galoway be a gret mountane schuteng the selfe into

<sup>1</sup> *Bellis ardentibus*. <sup>2</sup> Cree. <sup>3</sup> Candida Casa (Whithorn), so called from the stone church built by St Ninian at the close of the 4th century. <sup>4</sup> Grandson or nephew. <sup>5</sup> The Picts. <sup>6</sup> Is superior to; orig. *superat*. <sup>7</sup> Besides. <sup>8</sup> Lincluden Abbey, near Dumfries. <sup>9</sup> Sweetheart Abbey. <sup>10</sup> Souleseat Abbey. <sup>11</sup> St Mary's Isle. <sup>12</sup> Cod. <sup>13</sup> Mull.

the Sey: The name of the ane of thir lochis is named Lochriane, of xvi. myle lang: the vther, Loch,<sup>1</sup> about xx. myles lang: of bredth almaist bot baith alyke: They baith abunde in herring, ostiris,<sup>2</sup> and in vtheris fisches, bot maist rich in fisch that brede amang stanes. Quhen<sup>3</sup> our hail cuntrey throuch bringis vpe ambling horse, than cheiffie Galloway, that all vtheris thay excell, I say,—thay vthiris excell be mony dayes Jornay, thay ar sa swift in body, albeit thay be small. Bot nathir thay mekle gret horse quhilkes being harnest, beiris armed men of weir, ar haldne sa nobil with our cuntrey men, or of sa gret pryce, as horse of mid-way stature, sa that thay be swifte and of a prettie forme; quhilkes in the grettest battelis hes oft done ws na litle skaith.

Abone Galloway is Silurie, sum tyme a weirlie<sup>4</sup> peple as evin yit it is, quhome Tacitus writes was ay cumirsum<sup>5</sup> and rebellious to the Romanis selfes. Of it are rekned thrie partes, Karrik, Kyle, and Kuninghame. In thir thrie evin as in vuir<sup>6</sup> Clydisdale and in nethir Clidisdale that lyes nerrest thame ar gret ofspring and that of nobilitie: Thair ar Knichtes, Barrounis, and mony vthiris Nobilis, quhome we cal milordis. It is esteimet, that Carrik is named from a certane toune copious in citiyenis and verie numerable called in Latine Carictonia: thair mony fair castellis throuch nature and arte fenced and prepared, mony thair clachans, bot mony mae villages, as ouer all it is with ws. The ground almaist is alyke plentifulle in all thir places: the pastorall is plesand, as afor I spak, of quhilke we haue cheis nane fyner, and buttir in gret quantitie; Bie skepis<sup>7</sup> lykwyse nocht few. Thair is beir and aits meikle bettir and meikle mair copious, than with vthires natiouns; quheit lesse: It walde nochtwithstanding grow in mony places abundantlie, gif the housbandmen could persuade it to be to thair profite. The sey coste round about is full of fishe, and may be fished, as are all burnes, lochis, & fludes. Woodis are thinn: bot in vuirelydisdale and nethirelydisdale, the woodis thiker; monasteries fewar. Carik nochttheless hes ane monasterie called Croce Regal.<sup>8</sup> Kyle,

<sup>1</sup> Luce Bay. <sup>2</sup> Oysters. <sup>3</sup> Since, and so throughout. <sup>4</sup> Warlike. <sup>5</sup> Troublesome. <sup>6</sup> Upper. <sup>7</sup> Beehives. <sup>8</sup> Crossraguel.

bot rather Coile sa named from Coile king of the Britanis thair slane, hes the toune of Air, quhilke is called S. Johnes toune,<sup>1</sup> illustir and fair anuich baith in riches and biging, and a plesand situatione, with a prettie sey porte quhair strange natiouns oft arrayues and thair landes, the porte is sa commodious. The watir of Dune quhilke is a cleir and ane riche riuer rinnis through this cuntrey; rinning in into the Sey, it endes nocht far frome the toune. It hes ane monaster called Fale.<sup>2</sup>

In Cuninghame is the toune of Irvine, quhilke in peple, in riches, and commodiousnes of the Sey porte is nocht mekle inferiour to Air; twa myle or thairabout frome the toune is a monasterie magnifk aneuich, to name Kilwinnine.<sup>3</sup>

A litle frome this lyes Clydisdale, or as sum cal it Cludisdale, quhilke thay cal the baronie of Renfrou quhair is a toune of the same name. To this toune is priuelege of salmonte takeng granted be thair foirbearis betuene the twa brayes<sup>4</sup> of Clyde. The takeris gyue sik labour to fisheng that thair oft may be sene hail lx. of fisher botes occupiet in fisheng all baith the spring and summer tyme; bot for al that the mater uses sa to succeid with thame, that sum of thame hes sik luk in fishing, that thay take nocht sa mony salmon, as we sal say or it be lang,<sup>5</sup> vses to be takne be sum in riuers in the north partes. Frome this the space of twa myles is distant Paslay quhilke is situat amang cnowis,<sup>6</sup> grene woodis, schawis,<sup>7</sup> and forrest fair onn the Riuer of Carronn:<sup>8</sup> quhair is an ornate brig of astlare<sup>9</sup> warke and weil decored, be quhilke surlie is past ouer till a magnifk and a riche monaster<sup>10</sup> thair of the same name erected at the toune syde, quhilke with a verie magnifike wal, al hail wt four square stane was walled round about aboue a myle of gate, stiking and standeng out verie fair Images and verie mony of thame. The pulchritude<sup>11</sup> of quhilke Temple, bewtie of the biging, and

<sup>1</sup> The original church of Ayr was that of John the Baptist. The name of St Johnston was in Scotland usually applied to Perth. <sup>2</sup> The monastery of Fail or Failford, in parish of Torbolton, founded in 1252, regarding which we have the well-known rhyme:—

“The Friars of Fail drank berry-brown ale,  
The best that ere was tasted,” &c.

<sup>3</sup> Kilwinning. <sup>4</sup> Banks. <sup>5</sup> As we shall relate before long. <sup>6</sup> Hillocks. <sup>7</sup> Covert, shelter. <sup>8</sup> Cart. <sup>9</sup> Ashlar. <sup>10</sup> The Abbey of Paisley. <sup>11</sup> Beauty.

ecclesiastical vestements, and decore of the yardes, may esilie contend with mony kirkes, quhilkes this day ar halden maist ornat in vthir cuntreyes: quhilke may trulie be spokne of vthir monasteries with ws, butt ony exceptione, that we neid not this to repeit agane: War nocht beutiful and excellent monasteries, Aberbroth, Sanctandris, Dumfermilne, the haly rud house in Edinburghe, and Melrose. Surlie Johne<sup>1</sup> the last archiebischope of Sanctandris with ws, with gret expenses erected the tour of the kirke of Paslay, that nane with ws bigit the lyke, quhilke afor had nocht fallin, It was sa sure foundet nathir was yit perfyted.

Twa myles abone the toune of Renfrou is a gret and ane large village vpon the watir of clyde named Goeuan;<sup>2</sup> because it brewis gude ale commended throuh the hail land.<sup>3</sup> Frome this beyond the watir of Clyd distant vthiris twa myles is a noble toune to wit of Glasgwe quhair is ane archibishopes sait. Surlie Glasgw is the maist renoumed market in all the west, honorable and celebrate: Afor the hæresie began thair was ane Academie nocht obscure nathir infrequent or of ane smal numbir, in respecte baith of Philosophie and Grammer and politick studie.<sup>4</sup> It is sa frequent, and of sik renoume, that it sendes to the Easte cuntreyes verie fatt kye, herring lykwyse and salmonte, oxneydes, wole and skinis, buttir lykwyse that nane bettir, and cheise. Bot, contrare, to the west (quhair is a peple verie numerable in respecte of the commoditie of the sey cost), by vthir merchandise, all kynd of corne to thame sendes.

Bot till Argyle, in the hilande Iles, and lykwyse to the outmest Iles in Irland it sendes baith vine and ale and sik kynde of drink as thir natiouns haue plesure off, to wit, maid of ale, of honie, anat<sup>5</sup> seide, and sum vthires spices (this drink the commone peple commonlie callis Brogat).<sup>6</sup> In this cuntrie thay lykwyse sell aqua vitæ, quhilke heir in place of wine thay commonlie vse. It is a verie fair situatioune and plesand, abundant in gairdine herbis, aple tries, and orchardis. Farther it hes a verie commodious seyyorte, quhairin litle

<sup>1</sup> John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, and afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews. <sup>2</sup> Govan. <sup>3</sup> The meaning is that it is commended through the whole land on account of its good ale. <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 42. <sup>5</sup> Anise. <sup>6</sup> The commoner Scots form of the word is *brogwort* or *bragwort*, a kind of mead.



schipis ten myles frome the sey restis besyde the brig,<sup>1</sup> quhilke brig haveng 8 bowis<sup>2</sup> is ane gret delectatione to the lukeris vpon it. The landes rounde about the space of 4 or 5 myles pertienes to the Archibischope: of quhilkes the rentes hes nocht bene takne frome the heires thir thousand yeiris and mair.<sup>3</sup> Mairouer that in the same hæritage, Ilke hes rychteouslie from age to age succedeth till vther, that worthilie thay may be called perpetual heires.

Vuir Clydisdale or Cludisdale (in quhais bordour is Glasgwe foundet) as lykwyse nathir Cludisdale, amang fair forrests and schawis schene; with thiker woodes sum are decored: heir I say is ane gold mynde in Craufurde mure,<sup>4</sup> fund out in the tyme of King James the fourthe. Bot we mycht esilier cal it a golde strand: gif the golde rather rann nocht through the feildes, nor wrocht through arte war, or through trauell, arte, and labour war deluet<sup>5</sup> out of the ground: for, I say, it rinis frome sandie furdes<sup>6</sup> of burnes, or Riueris, that flowis from the topis of the knowis in Craufurd-mure. Thair the pure gather the sand, quhilke quhen thay haue sifted thay sell to him quha is maistir of warke, be waicht. Bot because thay daylie find nocht mair gold thair than thay do, the cause quhy is this, as said is, that the nerrest nyghbour feildes ministeris nocht and gyues the due and lawful mater vnto the fyre that the gold may be wrochte.<sup>7</sup> Bot that quhilke gold is called without ony labour thair is found. Cludisdale hes thir tounes, Lanrik<sup>8</sup> (sa named as thay will frome Arca Lanarum, as it war, ane woll arke). It lykewyse hes Hammiltoun, finallie Rugland:<sup>9</sup> Nobill castelis it has, Bothval,<sup>10</sup> Draffen,<sup>11</sup> and Hammiltoun. Sindrie vtheris notable houses mairouer thair may be seine.

Ffrome Tintok<sup>12</sup> top flowis thrie fludes (of quhilkes afor we

<sup>1</sup> This bridge was built in 1350 in place of the wooden bridge by which Wallace crossed to attack the Bishop's Palace. <sup>2</sup> Arches. <sup>3</sup> The revenues have not been put up to sale for a thousand years and more. <sup>4</sup> In the Treasurer's Accounts for 1511, 1512, and 1513, there are entries of payments to the different persons who worked the gold-mines of Crawford Muir. Cf. also *Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mines in Scotland* (Ban. Club, 1825). <sup>5</sup> Delved. <sup>6</sup> Fords. <sup>7</sup> The meaning is simply that the neighbourhood does not supply fuel for the proper working of the gold. <sup>8</sup> Lanark. <sup>9</sup> Rutherglen, locally pronounced Ruglen. <sup>10</sup> Bothwell. <sup>11</sup> Draffane Castle, now called Craignethan, the Tillietudlem of Scott. <sup>12</sup> Tinto. Leslie's geography is astray here regarding the sources of the three rivers.

maid mentione) Tuede, Annan, and Clyd, quhome Tacitus calles in Latine Glota: thir thrie quhill in diuerse places with a gret force thay entir in the sey, all that south parte of the Realme, thay make thrie nuiked.<sup>1</sup>

Ffarther ar vthiris Landes sum, quhilkes frome the Riueris that rinis through thame ar in a maner surnamed with dales, as Douglassdale, Walcopdale, and Drisdale, quhilkes for schortnes now I latt pas.

Tuedale<sup>2</sup> nochtwithstanding because of the gude Wot in quhilke it abundes by all vthiris sulde nocht be slipit ouer with silence. In this cuntrie ar fund, evin as with thair nychtbouris, that sum of thame are knawen to haue four or fyue hundir, vthiris agane aucht or nyne hundir, and sum tyme thay ar knawen to haue a thousand scheip: The scheip indeed ar litle, and hornes thay beir lyke rames; bot the yewis twa, thrie or four, and the Ramis at sum tymes sax: Thay beir verie schorte tailis, als schorte as the tail of ane hyne.<sup>3</sup> In tendirnes of thair fleshe thay ar lyke the cattel that ar fed in the rest of the south cuntreyes of the Realme, bot farr excelis thame that feid in the pastoure of the nerrest cuntreyes. The cause is thocht to be this, that the knowis of thir cuntries abundes in a certane schort and bare grase, quhairin scheip properlie delytes. It hes a noble toune, to name, Peblse,<sup>4</sup> for that portione of the haly croce<sup>5</sup> thair keipit religiouslie, anes lang syne verie celebrate through frequent and oft peregrinatione. Nocht far frome this is a toune named Ekilis,<sup>6</sup> and thair lykwyse ane ample and plesand pastoral called the forest<sup>7</sup> in quhilke baith the gret and smal beistes of the Prince vses to feid: Quhair lykwyse is the goldmynd of Megetlande:<sup>8</sup> quhairin

<sup>1</sup> Cornered. <sup>2</sup> Tweeddale. <sup>3</sup> Hind. <sup>4</sup> Peebles. <sup>5</sup> The story of this cross is told by Fordun. It was found on the 9th May 1261, and shortly afterwards near the same spot an urn, containing the ashes and bones of a human body. On the upper side of the stone was found the inscription, "The place of St Nicholas the Bishop." On this spot, therefore, the church of the Holy Cross was erected. <sup>6</sup> Selkirk. <sup>7</sup> In Pitscottie we read:—"The second day of June [1528] the king passed out of Edinburgh to the hunting, and many of the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland with him, to the number of 12,000 men; and there passed to Meggetland, and hounded and hawked all the county and bounds." <sup>8</sup> Parish of Megget in Peeblesshire. Traces of the working of the gold-mines are still to be seen in a stream that runs down Glengaber into Megget Water (*New Stat. Acct.*).

ar meruellous gret hartes, and innumerable thair ar found. Bot because of the hartis we haue made mentione, this we may eik to. Ouer all with ws in the hichest mountanis gret hartis ar sa frequent, that commounlie in a solemne hunting, the Prince cheiflie present him selfe, now fyue hundir, now viii. hundir, sum tyme 1000 at ane tyme ar slayne: for than throuch the cry of men and the barking of litle dogs round about, the space, sum tyme of x., sum tymes of xx. myles and mair within the narrow boundes of a certane valley, quhair the Lordes and noble men hes appoynted to remane and institute thair aby deng.<sup>1</sup> Out of that place the hundes being hunted, arrowis schott, jaiuelinis castne, and hounting cloubs: and with al kynde of armour thay sett vpon the hartis, not without gret danger baith of men and dogs: For the hartes of nature ar giuen to this, that gif thair leidar fal amang the midis of his ennimies, or incur ony present danger, thay al in ane troupe without feir followe, excepte thay die be the gate:<sup>2</sup> Bot this is worthie of Rememberance, quhilke our selves sawe, quhen we war present, of thir summe ar quhais fatt is funde ten inches thick, of quhilke sorte principallie ar in Argyle. Mairouer because we heir haue maid mentione of the hunting, sumthing in lyk maner we will say of the dogs. Of the hunting dogs are sindrie kyndes, and sindrie natures, of quhilkes the first kynde is gretter than ane tuelfmoneth alde calfe; and this sort commonlie huntis the gretter beistes, as ye sall sie, athir the harte or the wolfe. The secund kynde of hunting dog is sumthing lesse than is this, bot mair couragious than he and nobilar of kynde, a beist of a meruellous audacitie and suiftnes, that nocht onlie oft tymes vses to invade<sup>3</sup> wylde beistes, bot evin the sam men willinglie be the instinctione of nature he vses to invade quhome he perceiuet to do ony skaith to his maistiris & Leidaris: Ennimies or traytouris vses mair to feir frome this kynde of dog oftymes, than frome the baldest man of weir. Another kynde of hunting dog is to sent,<sup>4</sup> of quhilkes sum ar mekle mair than vthir sum,<sup>5</sup> bot of nature ar lyke

<sup>1</sup> And take up their position. <sup>2</sup> Way. We have here a description of the Highland *Tinchel*. See *Lady of the Lake*, Canto V. <sup>3</sup> Attack. <sup>4</sup> Scent. <sup>5</sup> Of which some are larger than others.

thir hairie dogs that ar sent to ws out of Almannie bot in body mekle les. Thir nocht onlie invades wylde beistes, bot lykwyse foules and sik kynde of beistes as leue alsweil be water as be land, in lyke maner, and fisches lurking amang the stanes thay seik out with thair sent. Is yit another kynde of senting dogs far different frome the first, I speik nocht heir of this commone sorte that huntis the Cuning<sup>1</sup> and the Hair: This kynde is verie rid, with black spotis amang, or contrare.<sup>2</sup> In this kynde is sick wittines<sup>3</sup> and crueltie, that the hie way butt<sup>4</sup> ony errour thay follow theiues, and quhen thay finde thame, quhither in houses or feildes, thay sett vpon thame, and with sik crueltie of nature, that thame onlie thay ryue with thair teith, yie<sup>5</sup> perchance albeit sitting amang mony: ffor frome the first sent quhilke the dog perceiues, eftir the cry of his Leidar, follow, rinn, or gang vthir men sa fast as thay will, it moues him nathing, he is nocht drawin back, bot still followis the fute of the fier. Only in passing a Riuer al is lost; because thair the sent perisses, to wit in the watir: quhilke quhen the theefes vndirstandes, be mony turnes and boutgangings<sup>6</sup> thay dryue the pray, now on this syd now on that syd of the riuer: and beyonde the water, thay finye<sup>7</sup> a dwble passage, that in treding of the fute thay may be deceiued: The dog nochttheles, in the mein tyme, barkeng continualie, seases<sup>8</sup> not afor he find the trad<sup>9</sup> of the fliaris. Bot gif ony in tyme of peace, quhill a persewar is following ony thing he wantis, hindir this dog, ye frome his innest or maist secreit chamber he hes, he is accused, and giltie esteimet of this thift: Nathir only of nature hes this dog this Ingine,<sup>10</sup> bot rathir of man, quha with gret labour brings him to this vse: quhairthrough cumis to passe that quha amang thame do excell ar deir boght and gyue agret price.<sup>11</sup>

This kynd nochtwithstandeng is thocht to differ nathing frome that kynde, quhilke huntis the hairis and vthiris wylde beistes. Is yit another kynde of slwthhundes, laich<sup>12</sup> of stature bot braid of body, because that invadeng the cunings vnder the earth, through violence out of thair Lairis and Dennis he dryues the foxis, the martrix,<sup>13</sup> the brok,<sup>14</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cony or rabbit. <sup>2</sup> Or black with red spots. <sup>3</sup> Cunning. <sup>4</sup> Without. <sup>5</sup> Yea. <sup>6</sup> Doublings. <sup>7</sup> Feign. <sup>8</sup> Ceases. <sup>9</sup> Track. <sup>10</sup> Instinct. <sup>11</sup> For a note on these dogs see p. 182. <sup>12</sup> Low. <sup>13</sup> Marten. <sup>14</sup> Badger.



the wilkatt:<sup>1</sup> This kynde gif at ony tyme he fynd the passage narrow, that he can nocht entir vndir the eard,<sup>2</sup> he with his feit makes it large and apnes it vpe, and that with sik trauail, that oft tymes he is lost through his Diligence. Of the varietie of Messen<sup>3</sup> dogs, wt quhilkes gentle women vses to recreate thame selves, althoch be mony and infinite, I will nocht heir make mentione.

Ane prouince named Laudiane on the South syd of Forth remaines yitt to speik off, and that indeid through the plentifulnes of the ground, decking and apparrelling of thair houses, and fairnes of thair biging, may weil be called cheif: sumtyme Pentland it was called, that is to say the land of the Peychts, evin as this day thae mountanis declairis sa named: Laudiane hes mony riueris that beir sail, nocht far from the sey, notwithstanding abunding in fische, nathir thair proffite of smale estimatione, through the benifite of the haiuining places<sup>4</sup> thay haue. Bot the principal amang the tounes is halden (surlie) Edinburgh: be reasone of the multitude of citiyenis, abundance of marchandise, of the proper, principal, and special place quhair his souerantie vses to make residens, of his Palice, and supreme Counsel lykwyse be rasone of the monumentis of alde wryteris, nocht in deid named aftir thair name, bot wt the name of madne castel<sup>5</sup> is Edinburgh named, reyuen<sup>6</sup> round about in the craig, sum tyme quhilke was nocht litle celebrate and solemne,<sup>7</sup> round about I say except foranent the Toun is this castel ryven: The touris of Nobill men sax myles in circuite about this castel ar erected maist strenthie eftir the maner of the cuntrey les and mair abone ane hunder in number, quhilkes are decored with verie fair Lugengs.<sup>8</sup> A myle distante from Edinburghe is a fair haivin and now in lyke maner a rach<sup>9</sup> toun, to wit, Leith, althoch in this our vnhappy age, nocht anes hes it felte the curst and cruell furie of the weiris.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wild cat. <sup>2</sup> Earth. <sup>3</sup> Maltese dogs from Messina. The name *messen* is now applied to a mongrel. <sup>4</sup> Harbours. <sup>5</sup> Maidens' Castle. <sup>6</sup> Steep. <sup>7</sup> Famous. <sup>8</sup> Buildings (*edificia*). De Rohan, who visited Edinburgh in 1600, says that "more than a hundred country-seats are to be found within a radius of two leagues of the town" (*E.T.*, p. 93). <sup>9</sup> Opulent. <sup>10</sup> Wars. Leslie specially refers to the siege of Leith, concluded by the treaty of 1560, by which the French were forced to leave Scotland.



Is mairatouer<sup>1</sup> Hadingtoun quhilke not long afore fortified be the Inglismen, bot aftirward be ws; was lang seiged be mony companies of Frenchmen and Germanis, not without a gret losse and miserie, and a gret slauchtir:<sup>2</sup> of quhilke mater mair at large we will speik in the awne place. Is mair ouer Dunbar, quhilke evin vntil our dayes hes bene verie famous a toun, with a castel maist strenthie: and than Linlythgwe, decored with the kings palice a beutifull temple and a pleasand Loch swomeng full of fyne perchis, and vthiris notable fische. I passe ouer Mussilburghe, Dalkeith, the Queins porte or Ferrie,<sup>3</sup> and mony landwarde tounes ornat aneuch and elegant: Mony collegiat kirkes ar in it: Of the Richer monasters ar four, of men twa, Neubottle, the ane, and that quhilke we said was vndir the title of the haly croce the vther; and this we said was in Edinburgh: of Women lykwyse twa, Hadingtoun<sup>4</sup> and Northberuick.<sup>5</sup> I speik now nocht of that pure and cleine clostir pertaining to the sisteris of the Scheines besyd Edinburghe:<sup>6</sup> bot this, that quhen of all suspicione it was maist cleine, nochtwithstandeng was the first in the hail Realme eftir the Chartirhous<sup>7</sup> that be the aduersar was wraked and brocht to nocht. Tua myles abone Edinburghe is a fontane,<sup>8</sup> to wit a perpetuall spring of watir: quhair gret drapis of oyle perpetuallie sa spring vpe, that nathir gif ye take mony sal thay appeir the fewar, nather gif ye take nocht ane, sal thay seim the mae. Is said that quhen it first sprang to have beine spilte out of S. Catharines oyle, quhen thair the pig<sup>9</sup> quhairin it was, negligentlie was brokne, quhen frome the Mounte Sinay it was brocht to S. Margaret: Bot it is gude (as we vndirstand) to kure and to remeid diuers dolouris of the skin.

<sup>1</sup> Moreover. <sup>2</sup> The story of the siege of Haddington and the expulsion of the English by the French is told by the Sieur de Beaugué in the *Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse pendant les Campagnes 1548 et 1549* (Mait. Club). <sup>3</sup> Queensferry. <sup>4</sup> Leslie probably means the convent of Cistercian nuns at the village of Abbey, near Haddington, founded in 1178 by Ada, Countess of Northumberland, mother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. <sup>5</sup> The Benedictine Nunnery of St Mary, founded by Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, of which only some scanty fragments remain. <sup>6</sup> Sir David Lyndsay also bears emphatic testimony to the good life of the Sisters of the Nunnery of Sciennes. <sup>7</sup> The House of the Carthusians at Perth.—See p. 134, below. <sup>8</sup> St Catherine's Well. <sup>9</sup> Vessel.

In Laudien Land farther, and lykwyse in vthir prouinces with ws ar funde Gemis, thir, to wit: the Turques,<sup>1</sup> the adamant, the Rubie, and the Margarite<sup>2</sup> in gret number, bot the Turques, and the Rubie ar verie rare and few to be funde, bot the adamant<sup>3</sup> ar in gretter number, than thay ar deir: bot the Margarite is baith welthie and of a noble price. Thay indeid schawe a schyneng brichtnes, notwithstanding mair obscur than thay quhilkes ar brocht in frome the Eist. In freshe water buckies<sup>4</sup> nocht pleisand to the mouth, na lesse than in salt water buckies growis the Margarite.

The Water of fforth is ane arme of the Sea, and a place quhairwnto the sey flowis and ebbis; it rinis by Lawdien, and diuides the North frome Laudien, in quhilke is a gret and infinit multitude of Diuerse kyndes of fishe, quhair lykwyse excepte thir fishe may be seine ane foul, at vthir tymes thoch maist rair, yit in this ane place maist frequent. For quhen in the Sey selfe ar mony Iles and Inches nocht few, as the Mai, the Basse, the ile of S. Colme, quhair is a monaster<sup>5</sup> of the same name, nocht obskure, Inchkeith and vthiris: this foul of whome we speike, only bigis in the Basse, nathir in ony place with ws is funde excepte in Elissa<sup>6</sup> or Elya a craig in the sey foranent Galloway. Ffarther sche is a Sey guse, as we use to speik, or that foul, rather, quhilke Plinius calles ane Picarine, commonlie now ane solande guse. In the Basse thay abund maist, in Elissa nocht sa mekle. This guse yeirlie in the spring tyme returnes to ws: quhairfra can na man tell: bot southwardlie. At her first flicht, quhen sche makes first residence sche flies twa dayes still and continuallie round about the craig: all this tyme settis na man his heid out of the hous: Than bringis sche in a short space sa mony stickis as will serue baith to her biging and to be fyre to that hail familie, perchance the number of xl. persounes (In that craig is sa stark<sup>7</sup> ane castell that nane strenthier) the space of ane yeir, ye and langer. In the beginning fliedlie<sup>8</sup> and with gret feir thay to cum are

<sup>1</sup> Turquoise. <sup>2</sup> Pearl. <sup>3</sup> Diamond. See p. 107. <sup>4</sup> Pearl-oysters (*conchæ*).

<sup>5</sup> The monastery of Inchcolm, founded by Alexander I. <sup>6</sup> Ailsa. The other most celebrated breeding-places of the solan in the British Islands are Lundy Isle, St Kilda, Suliskerry, and Skelig. <sup>7</sup> Strong. <sup>8</sup> Timidly.

seine, bot how sone thay begin to bigg thair nestis, the grettest gun that is schott will nocht scar thame, nor chais thame away; thay lay thair eggs: Thay feid thair birdis diligentlie, with the maist diligate fishe that thay find, quhilkes with a gret force thay bring frome the sey ground, when thay dowk violentlie, for thay delyte in this labour, and in sa gret labour, and thay ar sa snell<sup>1</sup> and swift of flicht that be the seymen and marinelis sumtymes, thay ar fund twa myles and oft tymes mair frome the craig seiking thair pray. Mairatouer, thay are sa greidie that gif thay sie ony fishe mair diligate neir the craig, the pray quhilke perauentur thay brocht far aff, with speid thay wap<sup>2</sup> out of thair mouth, and violentlie wil now that pray invade, and quhen thay haue takne it will bring it to thair birdes: Gif thay sie, as oft chances, men take this fishe fra thair birdes, thay tyre nocht, with speid to flie to the fowling agane; and agane and agane, how oft thay ar spoyled, ay quhill the sone gang to,<sup>3</sup> that thay can nocht langre sie. Finalie of thir cumis yeirlie to the capitane of the castell na smal, bot ane verie large rent; for nocht only baith to him selfe and to vtheris obteines he sticks, fische, ye, and the fowlis selves, quhilkes because thay haue a diligate taste, in gret number ar sent to the nerrest tounes to be salde, bot lykwyse of thair fethiris, and fatt quhilkes gyue a gret price, he gathiris mekle money: of thame this is the commone opinione, that by vtheris vses thay serue to, thay ar a present remeid against the gutt,<sup>4</sup> and vthiris dolouris of the bodie. Farther sa gret a number is thair of thame that gif in a schip tymlic in the morning ye passe by the craig, quhill thay yit ar thair, the hail craig bowing doune, quhilke indeid naturallie is black, ye wil think aluttirlic quhyte. In compase it conteines fyve stages,<sup>5</sup> and ane in hichte. To this fowle the sey is sa natural that gif through a tempest, or any vthir chance sche lycht on the ground, quhair the sey sche sies nocht, as sche war destitute of benefite of her wings, sche can not rais her selfe. Thair amang mony vthiris fowlis is yit ane certane kynd of fowle, in our mother tounge named the Skout,<sup>6</sup> that bigs with ws, in quantitie<sup>7</sup> lytle mair than the Duke<sup>8</sup> bot weil

<sup>1</sup> Rapid. <sup>2</sup> Throw. <sup>3</sup> Set. <sup>4</sup> Gout. <sup>5</sup> Orig. *stadia*. The Bass is about 400 feet high. <sup>6</sup> The Guillemot. <sup>7</sup> Size. <sup>8</sup> Duck.

lang in body; sche layis her eggs gretter than guse-eggs. In gret diligate is sche haldne: for the maistir of the ground vses nocht to by thame or obteine thame be price, bot to send thame in giftes and rewardes unto noble men his nychtbouris and frindes. Being sodin,<sup>1</sup> sche is maist tendir, in the breist nocht vnylyke to the Wylde bare,<sup>2</sup> quhilkes keip lang vncorrupte. Sche is said to be fund in ane only Ile, in the sey cost besyde Cornwale foranent the Realme of France, bot with ws this fowle may be seine with neb<sup>3</sup> and feit of purpur hew, nocht only in ane place, that only is thocht to be fund in Cornwale of sum. The Basse mairouer is sik a strenth<sup>4</sup> that nathir be force or fraud is it thocht winnable, for the craig is a myl within the Sey, and that maist deip round about, sa distant frome the land that quha cumis in wt gret difficultie mon cum: Thairfor with lang towis and Lathiris<sup>5</sup> lattin doune thay ar towit vpe, quha cumis in: and thair can not be admitted bot be this Ingine and helpe of thame that ar within: and that necessitie constrayne thame nocht quha ar within, excepte fleshe, fishe, and eldinge,<sup>6</sup> quhilke we said was obtained throuch the benifite of thir fowlis, this Ile hes a pasture, or as we say, a Lesoue, that may feid sum wethiris: mosse mairouer quhilke peit and turfe may minister to the fyre: and by all that, a meruellous thing, in the heid of this craig is ane calde and perpetual spring, of fyne, freshe, and fair water.

That now we may returne quhair we cam fra: In Laudien toward the west vpon the water of Forth is Striuiling Schire nerrest. This schire in respect of birth-fulnes<sup>7</sup> of the ground and repair<sup>8</sup> of nobilitie according to thair boundis is nathing behind Laudien selfe. Forth thair, by abundance of salmonte fishe that it hes, abundes in sum vthiris kyndes of fishe in smacke<sup>9</sup> and plesand taste: vpon thir water bankes appeiris evin as vpon the bankes of Thai,<sup>10</sup> peise and beines to be ranker than in ony vther place: Eldine to the fyre, quhither ye wisse it war of Moss, Trie, or Stane, is abundant and sufficient aneuch. The same schire hes a toune of the same name, to wit, Striuiling, fortified

<sup>1</sup> Boiled. <sup>2</sup> Bear. <sup>3</sup> Bill. <sup>4</sup> Stronghold. <sup>5</sup> Ropes and ladders. <sup>6</sup> Fuel.  
<sup>7</sup> Fertility. <sup>8</sup> Concourse. <sup>9</sup> Savour. <sup>10</sup> Tay.



alsweil naturallie as be arte, to quhilke a ouch rock or craig round about lyes neir, nocht far vthirwyse than the craigs of Madin Castell neir Edinburghe, gif a dangerous hill towarde the North, ioyned thairwith and sticking thairto, war not cummirsum and contrare to it: a refuge nochtwithstandeng it is not vnsure. Thair hes the king a palice verie honorable, maist magnificent, sum tyme named the mountane of Sturte,<sup>1</sup> thaireftir Snawdoune Hill: thairfra it is a fair and plesand sychte to the feildes, to the Riuer, to the Parke, and to the nerrest mountainis. Heir ar twa monasteris, ane of men, bigit of alde and magnifike aneuch, induet this day with noble rent, and a riche benifice, called the feild of Keneth,<sup>2</sup> situat on the bankes of the Water of Forth, within a myle to the toune: The vther monaster, of women, xii. myles from the toune, to name Manwal.<sup>3</sup>

Neist this westwarde lyes Monteith, nobilitat and mekle commendet throuch the name of sik cheise as nane fyner, quhairin by vthir singular things that it hes, ane famous suerlie<sup>4</sup> and kinglie Castell,<sup>5</sup> lykwyse ane certane monaster<sup>6</sup> of midway rentis it conteines. Frome thir cuntreyes that wyde and ample forrest, called the Tor Wod,<sup>7</sup> hes the beginning; quhais boundis war sa large that frome the Callendar and Caldir wod evin to Lochquhaber war extendet, in quhilke onlie, eftir the commoun speiking, war the quhyte kye fund, of quhilkes now restes verie few, or nane: quhair in lyke maner war sa mony wylde bares, that, as the alde wryters make mentione, than being full, is now nocht ane: (evin as our nychbour Inglande has nocht ane wolfe, with quhilkes afore thay war mekle molested and invadet) bot we now nocht few, ye contrare, verie monie and maist cruel, cheiflie in our North cuntrey, quhair nocht only invade thay scheip, oxne, ye and horse, bot evin men, specialie women with barne, outragiouslie and fercelie thay ouirthrows.

<sup>1</sup> Dolour. See above, p. 80. <sup>2</sup> Cambuskenneth Abbey. <sup>3</sup> The Cistercian priory of Manuel or Emmanuel, founded in 1156 by Malcolm IV. <sup>4</sup> Surely. <sup>5</sup> The stronghold of the Earls of Monteith on Inch Talla in the Lake of Monteith may be meant, but more probably Doune Castle. <sup>6</sup> Probably the priory of Inchmahome in the Lake of Monteith, founded by Walter Comyn, Earl of Monteith, in 1238. <sup>7</sup> Boece identifies the Torwood with the Caledonian Forest.—*Cf.* p. 80, above.



In this Wod war nocht onlie kye bot oxne and Bules<sup>1</sup> snawquhyte with a mane thick and syde,<sup>2</sup> quhilke thay beir lyke the mane of a lyone. Thay mairouer war sa cruel and wylde that frome mankynde thay abhored in sik a sorte that quhateuir thing the handis of men had twechet, or the air of thair mouthis had blawne vpon or endet<sup>3</sup> as we speik, frome al sik thay abstained mony dayes thaireftir. Farther, this oxx or Bull was sa baulde, that nocht only in his yre or quhen he was prouoked walde he ouircum horsmen, bot euin feiret he nathing nathir tyred he, commonnlie al men to invade<sup>4</sup> baith with hornes and feit, ye the dogis, quhilkes with vs ar maist violent, he regardet nocht bot walde clate<sup>5</sup> him with his cluifes<sup>6</sup> or kaithe<sup>7</sup> him on his hornes. His flesche was all girssillie<sup>8</sup> bot of a trim<sup>9</sup> taist. He was afortymes a frequent beist in this Torr Wod, bot now consumed through the gluttunie of men only in thrie places is left, in the Park of Striuiling, the Wod of Cummirnalde,<sup>10</sup> and of Kinkairne.<sup>11</sup>

In thir cuntreyes Eistward, and vpon the water of Clyde southward is the Lennox boundet, quhairin is a freshe watir Loch, lang myles xxiv.: bot in bredthe viii., oft fleitande<sup>12</sup> with gret surges and waues lyke the wais<sup>13</sup> of the sey, oft I say, quhen nocht sa mekle as ane are<sup>14</sup> of wind wil be harde, called the Loumond, plentifull of Salmond fishe maist plesand, and of diuerse and sindrie vthirs fishes nocht few. Frome this Loch rinis into the water of Clyde the water of Leuin,<sup>15</sup> quhair Clyd entiris in the sey. Quhair thir twa Riueris meitis hings ouir a gret craig and standes far out, in quhilke is foundet the castell quhilke we cal Dumbriton:<sup>16</sup> Clyd rinis by the craig on the ane sid, or as we say on this syd, Leuin rinis by on that syd, as we vse to speik, for it is forkit in the midis (or diuidet) haueng a loch of freshe water standing on euerie syd, bot nocht throughlie diuidet, situat in a gret, surely, and a plane field, haueng na inclyneng or bowing: bot lyke a lang peir sett in a round aple, and

<sup>1</sup> Bulls. See above, p. 81. <sup>2</sup> Drooping. <sup>3</sup> Breathed upon. <sup>4</sup> Attack. <sup>5</sup> Tear.  
<sup>6</sup> Hoofs. <sup>7</sup> Toss them. <sup>8</sup> Tough. <sup>9</sup> Sweet. <sup>10</sup> Cumbernauld. <sup>11</sup> Kincardine. The representatives of these wild cattle are now found only in Chillingham Park, Northumberland, and at Cadzow, near Hamilton. <sup>12</sup> Swelling.  
<sup>13</sup> Waves. <sup>14</sup> Air. <sup>15</sup> Leven. <sup>16</sup> Dumbarton.

put in the nuik<sup>1</sup> of a round table, it has a refuge maist sure: Be force is it neurir winn,<sup>2</sup> be falshed notwithstanding, and treasone of ennimies nocht seindle<sup>3</sup> hes it bene takne. In the scoug<sup>4</sup> of the craig and castell is a verie quyet hauining<sup>5</sup> place: Bot abone or vppirmer,<sup>6</sup> vpon Leuin, is the toune, quhilke frome the castel is nocht distant a myle of gait, yit frome the castel has the name. Heir lykwyse is ane hauin of gret securitie.

Wpon the coste of the Lenox lyes Argyle, led about with mony turnings and windings, as it war diuidet in peices be 7 bosumis of the Sey, quhilkes lochis thay call: of quhilkes the maist famous, ample, and best amang thame is Loch fyne: for in lenth it is about xxv. myles, in bredth althrouch at the leist 4: In the gudnes, and multitude of herring it hes a gay commend,<sup>7</sup> decored round about with nobil touris, as with Argyle selfe,<sup>8</sup> and vthiris potent, worthie and honorable barounis nocht few. Is thair, lykwyse a freshwatir loch called Lochous,<sup>9</sup> almaist of that same mekledome,<sup>10</sup> qukilke in the Loumond was, we now declaired. In this loch are Iles xii., castles twa, Enconel and Glenurquhart.<sup>11</sup> Bot quhair it entiris in the Sey, it is plentiful throuch oft and frequent salmond fisheng: bot quhair Argyle lokes to the Sey, evin to Lochfyn is full of hiche craigs, and black barren mountainis; bot nocht vnmeit to feid hart and hyne, cattel, and wyld beistes: bot to beir kornes, except in sum glenis or vallayes, neur the sey syde is verie vnmeit. In the mountainis of Aargyl, in Rosse lykwyse, and sindrie vthiris places, ar fed ky, nocht tame, as in vthiris partes, bot lyke wylde hartes, wandiring out of ordour, and quhilkes, throuch a certane wyldnes of nature, flie the cumpanie or syght of men: as may be seine in winter, how deip saeuir<sup>12</sup> be the snawe, how lang saevir the frost ly, how scharpe or calde how evir it be, thay nevir thair heid sett vndir the ruffe of ony hous. Thair fleshe of a meruellous sueitnes, of a woundirful tendirnes, and excellent diligatnes of taste, far deceiues the opiniounis of men, that nevir tasted thame: bot quhen thay ar sodne thair fatt is sik, that afir the maner of the fatt of

<sup>1</sup> Corner. <sup>2</sup> Taken. <sup>3</sup> Seldom. <sup>4</sup> Place of shelter. <sup>5</sup> Shelter. <sup>6</sup> Further up. <sup>7</sup> A considerable reputation. <sup>8</sup> Himself. <sup>9</sup> Lochawe. <sup>10</sup> Size. <sup>11</sup> See above, p. 72. <sup>12</sup> Soever.

vthir ky, it freises nocht frahand<sup>1</sup> and congeilis, bot certane dayes remanes vnfrossin lyke oyle. Bot quhen al of this sort ar mekle commendet than cheiflie ar thay that out of Karrik ar sent vnto vs. Thair, herdis keipis the ky: bot the oxne not, except ane with ilkie draue:<sup>2</sup> for thay tile the ground with horses. Quhen thir sorte, in the sumer tyme thairfor ar weil fed, in wintir quhen thay ar through fatt, and through fatnes weil bowdin,<sup>3</sup> through all partes of the realme thay ar sent to be sauld: and being slane, thay ar poudiret, or with salte ar seasoned vnto the neist summer, to be keipet frome corruptione to thair commoune vse of daylie fude, as swyne fleshe is vset in vthir cuntries, of quhilke our cuntrie peple hes lytle plesure. Bot betuene Lochfyn and Lochous, quhilke properlie thay wil to be named Argyle, quhais best parte thay cal Cnapdolian,<sup>4</sup> the ground is mekle mair plentifull; for in greine and flourishing pasture, in fertile and fruitful ground it abundes.

Mairouer the countrie of Lorne, sumtyme was a portione of Argyle, quhilke as it is maist pleasant, delectable, and fair to behaulde, sa is it maist fertile and fruitfull: quhair is a castel, quhilke afortymes was called Euonium, bot now Dunstauage,<sup>5</sup> baith in antiquitie and stabilitie situat maist sure. Farther beyonde Lorne, the lande as it war in disdane is driuen to a strait and gret narownes, extending the selfe to the hilande seyes, of a certane gret boundes lx. myles or thairabout in lenth, with fludes flowing round about, and wattirrie wais evin sa of the sey, quhilke boundes was sumtyme named Menauia, bot now thay cal it Kaintyr, that is the head of the land. Vndir this name Menauia was thocht ance Argyle to be comprehendet. The ground heir is maist plane, baith in pastoral and in cornes abundant. The boundes heirfra till Irland is only xvi. myles: bot lykwyse for the concurring of ye troublous ebbing and flowing of the Sey, surges, and wais with vthiris, is verie perilous to the seymen and marinelies. The Promontorie of this place (quhilke thay cal Kaintyr) the inhabitouris of that countrie calis the Mule of Kaintyr, to wit, sik a nuik or elbok of land, quhair is committed<sup>6</sup> lyke a battel amang ye surges of the maine Sey,

<sup>1</sup> Out of hand. <sup>2</sup> Drove, herd. <sup>3</sup> Swollen. <sup>4</sup> Knapdale. <sup>5</sup> Dunstaffnage.

<sup>6</sup> Joined in battle—a pure Latinism for *committere praelium*.

fleiting and flowing thairout. In al thir cuntries ar diuerse touris, munitiouns, and strenthis, ye and kinglie castelis nocht few, quhilkes war erected of alde that baith the outrageousnes of theiues, and the crueltie of murthireris mycht be stayet, amang the rest is this castel to name Dunartæum,<sup>1</sup> nocht far frome the Mule.

In lyke maner, gif turneng my selfe to the in-cuntrie, I speik ony thing of the schirrefdome of Perth, or of Stratherne; and Fife, ye have the best parte of the Realme midway, conforme till our stile, apned vpe. The schirrefdome thairfor of Perth is nocht litle bot ample indede and large, quhair is a gret multitude of peple baith in housbandrie and nobilitie, and the ground plentiful. Amang the rest Perth has a toune named now S. Johnestoune: quhilke as it is ancient and of gret antiquitie, sa in a verie delectable place is it situat vpon the watir of Tai, and lykwyse of alde weil walled about, by<sup>2</sup> the consuetude<sup>3</sup> of vthir tounis with ws, and as this day yit is to sie, beutiful and fair, and in ane ordour maist decent weil disposed, excepte the destructione of religious places. Is nocht honest, that euerie craft (of quhilkes thair is na smal number) occupie his awne gait asyd?<sup>4</sup> A notable brig<sup>5</sup> it hes by the rest with ws. Nocht far frome thir walis was a noble clostre and large of the Cartusianis, quhilke the heides of the toune, Caluinists ouirthrow first of al in thir furie, first, I say, afor ony vthir.<sup>6</sup> Nathir was this prouince destitute of monasteries baith of men and women, albeit nocht sa welthie as at vthir tymes. They farther containe within thair boundes twa Bischopries, Dunblane and anothir quhilke in respecte of the rentis may esilie striue with ony vthir in our boundes, to wit, Dunkeld. Perth, Stratherne ly weil manured, frome that water called the water of Erne quhilke rinis into Tai.

<sup>1</sup> In Blaeu, *Dounanorty*. Scarcely a trace of it now remains. <sup>2</sup> Contrary to. <sup>3</sup> Custom. <sup>4</sup> Father Cody aptly quotes the following sentence from Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*:—"Is it not charming that every trade has its own street apart?" <sup>5</sup> This bridge, originally constructed of wood, was rebuilt of stone between 1599 and 1617, but was swept away by a flood in 1621. The bridge to which Leslie refers was built of wood, the date of its construction being unknown. <sup>6</sup> Leslie refers to the notable occasion, when immediately after Knox's sermon in Perth, 1559, the "rascaille multitude" set about the destruction of the monasteries of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Carthusian Friars.—Laing, *Works of Knox*, i. 359 *et seq.*



Ffour myles of gait frome that place, quhair it rinis into Tai, is said to be a stane<sup>1</sup> nocht verie mekle bot (of) sum strange Virtue, that it can nocht be transported: for frome the place quhair it lyes, it may be mouet frome this syd to that, or that to this be ony body, bot wt na force or strenth out of that place may it be mouet, or ony arte or craft of man, this is the commoun and continual rumour and fame of and amang all. Strathmund, also of alde knawes Perth, abundeing baith in proffitable pasture, and in fertil cornes. Strathmund<sup>2</sup> mairouer hes Athol to her nytbour, with plentiful pasture, weil watired. The ground is fatt aneuch bot not ouer al alyke, for in sum places it is sa fertle that gif it be weil labourit albeit na seid be sawine, growes gude beir vpe frilie;<sup>3</sup> nochtwithstandeng in sum vthir places, gif ye sawe, in a schorte tyme, as quheit into beir allutterlie it degeniris.

Last of al, frome the diocie of Perth evin to the grete Sey, quhatevir land is betueine thir twa mane fludes Forth southward, and Tai northward, Fife is called: Nathir is this schire sa ample as be the benifite of nature, and industrie of the peple, it is weil manured and laboured with diligence. For it round about hes hauinis commodious anuich; quhair, quhen thay ar bigit, with a certane and gret schawe of magnificence, of sum gret toune, mony thay delyte. Of thir sorte cheiflie ar thir, Crel,<sup>4</sup> Pittinweme, Kirkaldie, Diserte,<sup>5</sup> Kingorne, Dunfermling, Culrosse. The ground heir ouir al maist fertle, athir in quheit or ony vthir kynde of corne, or maist conuenient for the feiding of Cattel lykwyse and of scheip: This schire, anew<sup>6</sup> of stane coles to burne in the fyre, and abundantlie it findes not to the selfe only, bot lykwyse to all beyond Tai, in quhilkes cuntreys, excepte in only Suthirland, and that only in our age, thir coles ar nocht to be funde. Heir through the benifite of thir coles is maid mekle quhyt salte, as on the bray<sup>7</sup> foranent vpon Laudian syde, is maid of salte water: Bot in vthir places, for the penuritie of wodis, out of the yeard<sup>8</sup> we cutt peates and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 82. <sup>2</sup> Strathalmond (?). <sup>3</sup> Spontaneously. <sup>4</sup> Crail. <sup>5</sup> Dysart.  
<sup>6</sup> Enough. <sup>7</sup> Bank. The place to which Leslie refers is probably Prestonpans, where the manufacture of salt from sea water has been carried on from very ancient times. <sup>8</sup> Earth.



turfes, quhilkes, quhen we haue cuttit, we dry at the sone, and of this is æstemet lyght fyr, and evin sa, hailsum through the hail Realme.<sup>1</sup> Bot this land, evin as al that it contienes, we meruel nocht a litle off, ffor it will be sax, sevin, or viii. cubites hich of fat mossie ground as<sup>2</sup> glew, bot maist barren, beiring nathing bot ane pure and smal grase, quhome al almaist thinkes to be mosse, and sik kynde of erthe and sik grase, vthiris thinkes it to be the herb gude to give the cattel against the rute that thay cal trifoly,<sup>3</sup> because it beires nathing. Bot this causes men meruellouslie to wondir that vndir that earth ar fund gret stokis and blokis of wondirful akes<sup>4</sup> and vthir tries,<sup>5</sup> sum rottin throuch aldnes, sum agane fresche and hail and for bigging nocht vnmeit: for that thir tries sumtyme grew in thir places is cleirer than the nune day, and that throuch force and nocht throuch age thay haue bene brocht out is euident aneuch, quhen mony of thame, as said is, remanes yit nocht wormetin and vncorrupte, bot freshe and fyne and meit to be put in vse: Bot can nocht be thoct, atleist may skairslie be thoct, that the ground growing sa thick abone culde haue couiret thik wodis as we sie. Bot how hes sa gret and wyde wodes evir thair growin, quhair now, be na arte or craft of man, will nocht sa mekle as ane small wande grow (the ground is sa barren) we can nocht meruel aneuch. Our Jugement thairfor is, that in the tyme of the vniuersal flude, was castne in that thick mater quhilke first ouerspred thay gret wodis and large, and quhilke thaireftir in processe of tyme turned into that thicknes, that it grew into fast eard: for gif at ony tyme, be the inhabitouris it be almaist cuttit out to the vsse of the fyre, it is seine, quhen it is fillet vpe, throuch a certane gift of nature, in a few yeiris to grow agane with speid. Bot of this aneuch. Gentil menis places and gret palices ma<sup>6</sup> sal ye find in na place than in Fife. Is thair, of the kings, ane palice maist magnificent, quhais name is Falkland: Thair twa Lochis, Torre<sup>7</sup> and Leuin: Thair is a castel weil fortified: farther, yiemen and hous-

<sup>1</sup> Dalrymple has missed the meaning of the original, which imports that a bright and wholesome light is obtained from the peat throughout almost all the country. <sup>2</sup> Like. <sup>3</sup> A kind of clover. The translator has here added to the original, which has simply "alii putant esse cytisum." <sup>4</sup> Oaks. <sup>5</sup> Trees.

<sup>6</sup> More numerous. <sup>7</sup> Torrie. See above, p. 78.

bandmen thair sal ye sie gang weil arayed wt maiestie and authoritie: quhilke albeit in al prouinces with vs be commone, yit maist of al in Fife: In fife, mairour, sittis the Primat of the Realme, the citie of S. Androes is the cheif and mother citie of the Realme; for frome him it hes the name, quha is named patrone of Scotland, to wit S. Andro, quhair with vs is a famous Wniuersitie and a notable schule, quhilkes wald God thay at this tyme flurished alsweil in thair theologie<sup>1</sup> as thay flurishe in thair Philosophie, and vthiris humane studies. In that prouince is lykwyse the toune of Couper, nocht of smal reputatione; quhair Juges he quha is Juge; and Schireffe of the cuntrey to his stile hes. Heir ar mony Clostiris, in quhilkes the maist welthie ar the monaster of Dunfermling, Lindoris, the Priorie of S. Androis; Colrosse, Pittinwime, Balmerino, Abirdour<sup>2</sup> and Elchok,<sup>3</sup> of quhilkes thir twa ar women.

#### THE PROVINCES OF THE NORTHE PARTE OF THE REALME.

About to speik sumthing of the vthir parte of the Realme, I wil begin at the west cost of Lorne, quhair I left offe, and thairfra Northerlie wil perseueir vpon the Sey coste on sik a maner as we may cum to the mouth or entrie of the water of Tai, quhilke separates Fife frome Angus, that the partes quhilkes lyes in the mid cuntrey I the esier may comprehend.

Loquhabre is thairfor nyctbour to Lorne, in pastoral, in wodis, and in yrne abundant, in corne nocht sa plentiful. Thair twa riuieris amang the rest of alde ar not a litle famous, the name of the ane Louthe,<sup>4</sup> the name of the vther Hispan,<sup>5</sup> quhilkes ar esteimed to excel mony vthirs riuieris baith in Salmonde and in abundance of vthiris fishes. Bot the truth of the mater is nocht publised, because the rude peple, quha ar inhabitouris, strukne<sup>6</sup> through a vane feir, that

<sup>1</sup> When Leslie wrote, the Universities had passed into the hands of the Reformers, whose theology would not be such as he approved. <sup>2</sup> The nunnery of St Marthas at Aberdour was founded in 1474. <sup>3</sup> Elcho in Strathearn. <sup>4</sup> Lochy.

<sup>5</sup> Spean. Boece calls it the Spanye. <sup>6</sup> Stricken.

through the abundance of thair fishe thay cum nocht sum tyme to skaith, and that of strangers, thay admitt na man thair with thame to the fisheng willinglie excepte thair awne nychtbouris and cuntrey men. Nathir ony maner of way gif thay labour to fisheng bot sa mekle as serues to thair awne vse for the tyme, nocht kairing as it war for the morne.

At the entrie of Louth was afor tyme a citie maist welthie to name Inverlouth,<sup>1</sup> to quhilke the frenche men and Spaniyeards oft because of thair treffik sailed our; bot this eftirward be thame of Denmark and Norway was ouirthrawn, and nevir agane restored be us, quhilke afor ony thing may be aseriued to our beistlines.<sup>2</sup>

Quha passis farther wil find Rosse, nocht a litle parte of this prouince, quhilke sum tyme was called Luge, is in his way, nocht indeid verie braid, bot meruellous lang, extending the selfe evin to the midland. Quhat pertienes to the Irishe Sey may surlie mair commodiouslie be occupiet be the wylde beistes than be men, for the gret difficultie of wodis and mountanis. Bot quhair that pairt of Albion eistward is flowed neir and run by with the mane Sey, beires corne in abundance, and in mony places fyne quheit, notwithstanding amaist ouer al<sup>3</sup> is mair conuenient to feid cattel, for it is verie famous through the name of ky maist fatt; finalie, in hart and hine, dae and Rae,<sup>4</sup> and in wilde foulis of the gretter sort it flowis in abundance. Thair nests heir bigis lykwyse the falcoun, the sparhawk, and diuersh vthiris kyndes of halkes, evin as mony egles. In Rosse and Loquhaber, and vthiris places amang hilis & knowis, ar nocht in missing fir trie sufficient, quhair oft sittis a certane foul and verie rare called the Capercalve, to name,<sup>5</sup> with the vulgar peple, the horse of the forrest, les indeid than the corbie,<sup>6</sup> quhilke pleises thair mouth, quha eitis her, with a gentle taste, maist acceptable. Sche lyues of only the tuigs or tendir branches of this trie:<sup>7</sup> Is lykwyse in thir cuntreyes anothir foul, in gret number, les than the vther, with ruch feit, wt rid bries,<sup>8</sup> our cuntrey men cal her, "the cok that bigis in places hard and difficle

<sup>1</sup> Inverlochie. See above, p. 73. <sup>2</sup> Sloth (*ignavia*). <sup>3</sup> Everywhere. <sup>4</sup> Doe and roe. <sup>5</sup> That is. <sup>6</sup> The raven (*corvus*). <sup>7</sup> Leslie's natural history is here more accurate than that of Boece. See above, p. 84. <sup>8</sup> Eyebrows.

to cum vpe to.”<sup>1</sup> Is also another that bigis in na place bot in sik places as thir, sumthing les than the fasiane,<sup>2</sup> bot in colour, and partlie in taste nathir is sche vnlyke: we oft cal her the blak cok: sche amang the smal bledis<sup>3</sup> of the herbe called trifolie cheiflie lyues, nathir alluterlie frome the stuffe does sche absteine. Is yit ane foul, this as a wype<sup>4</sup> be the way, that gretlie abhoris the presens of man, quhilke the Gustarde<sup>5</sup> commonlie thay cal: vpon the bair ground sche lays her egis, quhilkes gif sche perceiue be the handes of man to haue bene handlet, or be the ende<sup>6</sup> or air of his mouth ony way to haue bene violat, sche, as not able to cleck<sup>7</sup> burdis of thir egis, cumis nevir ner thame, bot cleine forsaikis thame: in colour and taste sche is nocht vnlyke the<sup>8</sup> pertrik, bot in gretnes sche is gretter than the Phink.<sup>9</sup> Of Pertrikis in sum cuntreyes ar gret abundance, bot of Laferokis<sup>10</sup> ouer al far gretter, in sa far that xii. for a frenche sous thay commounlie sell. Farther because nathing is althrouch fortunat and happie, quhat ane way abundes with ws, another way inlakes with vs, and is indigent: for the foul called the storke, the fasiane, the turtle dwe, the feldifare, the nichtingale, with vthiris natiounis ar frequent, bot skairs with us ar fund: Cranes anew, as lykwyse herounis: bot Phinkis, of quhilkes in Ingland ar in gret numbir, with ws ar fewar.

Amang the Lochis or bosumis of the Sey, that abundantlie flowis in al kynd of fishe, in Rosse, Lochbroune<sup>11</sup> in commendatione has the first place, copious in herring miracolouslie. Afor xx. yeirs was neuir seine, that fisheris vset to frequent Loch brune: frome that tyme, bot I can nocht tel, gif evir in ony place of the earth in sa narow a place or sa narow boundes, mae in fewar yeiris than thair hes bene takne, cuming thair at flicht speid, nocht only the Scotis men, bot the frenche men, flemengs, and Inglismen. Bot quhair<sup>12</sup> in sa mony yeiris this vset hes nocht bene, is thocht to be a diuine punitione: ffor gif in ony place quhair a tak of herring is, as thair, be ony slauchtir, or ony scheding of

<sup>1</sup> Leslie's words are "Nostri gallum tesquorum dicunt"—our countrymen call it the *heath-cock*. <sup>2</sup> Pheasant. <sup>3</sup> Blades. <sup>4</sup> Remark. <sup>5</sup> Bustard. <sup>6</sup> Breath. <sup>7</sup> Hatch. <sup>8</sup> Partridge. <sup>9</sup> The original has *olor*, a swan. <sup>10</sup> Lark. <sup>11</sup> Lochbroom. <sup>12</sup> Whereas.

manis blude aryse, for a certane [number] of yeiris following, through verie instinctiōne of nature, thay ar said to abhor frome that place, and to abunde in vthir places, cheiflie quhair of victual is mair skant. Mairouer quhen gret abundance of herring yeirlye ouir al through al the cost of Scotland is takne, yit nocht in ilk place at ane tyme nathir ay<sup>1</sup> alyke gude: for in the Westir Seyes, in that bosum of Clide, in thir bosumis nerhand, quhilkes Loches thay cal, the hail<sup>2</sup> haruest & beginning of Winter is a gret schule<sup>3</sup> of herring, bot in na place sa fatt and of sa pleisand a taste as in that loch mair Westirlye, quhilke afor we expremed vndir the name of Fine. About the end of wintir, and thaireftir a certane space asweil in the eister cost towarde Fife as southward foranent Carrik and Galloway, thay ar in gret multiplie. Bot as amang thame thay differ in taste, sa with thame baith quhen now thay ar gutted, and the meltis takne out, thay ar sa leine that thay ar nocht to be compared with the rest, to wit, the first. As tuecheng vthiris fishes, I can nocht tell, gif in ony place of the warlde, athir be mair varietie or mair abundance, of sum kyndes, baith freshe and salt water fishe, of Turbat,<sup>4</sup> ffluik,<sup>5</sup> and plase fluik,<sup>6</sup> of ostiris, Buckies, and vthiris schal<sup>7</sup> fishe, wilkes, and vthiris fishes amang the craigis and stanes. Also makrel, the codfishe, and perches maist fine: of quhilkes all war anuich to say that mekle bettir cheip<sup>8</sup> with ws than wt strangers, quha knawes not the mater, we think thay may be bocht. Finalie of the Sey calves,<sup>9</sup> and gret monstrous quhales, of quhilkes in our Sey is a gret number, the cause of this our compend permitis vs nocht copiouslie to expone.

Is farthermair in Rosse the firth of Cromartie, sa plentiful in sa mony kyndes of fishe maist fyne, and sa famous in sa sure a havin for schipis that nocht wtout cause the historio-graphours named it the Porte of saifgaird and saiftie.<sup>10</sup> That toune is ancient and of gret antiquitie called Rosmarkine,<sup>11</sup> through the Reliques of S. Boniface; and decored through

<sup>1</sup> Always. <sup>2</sup> Entire. <sup>3</sup> Shoal. <sup>4</sup> Turbot. <sup>5</sup> Flounder. <sup>6</sup> The Plaice.

<sup>7</sup> Shell. <sup>8</sup> Bargain. <sup>9</sup> Seals. <sup>10</sup> Cromarty Firth was known as *portus salutis*.

<sup>11</sup> Rosemarkie, so well known through the writings of Hugh Miller. Here St Boniface is said to have built a church about 716, which led David I. to make Rosemarkie the seat of the bishopric of Ross, of which he was the founder.



the Sepulchres, and monumentis of alde of his fatheris: quhairfra is nocht far distant the Cathedral Kirk of Rosse,<sup>1</sup> sa named nocht frome the toune bot frome the Prouince. The name of the Toune situat vpon the syd of the firth is named the Chanrie, quhair (is) the Bischopes Palice,<sup>2</sup> nocht far distant frome the Channounis houses, in beutie, and magnificence, Inferiour to verie few with ws. Is thair lykwyse the kingis castel<sup>3</sup> nocht far off on the bray syd vpon the vthir syd of the firth, quhais name is Dingwale, quhair gret welth of Salmoute: and nocht far frome this another kingis castel, to name, the Rid Castel<sup>4</sup> of ald hes bene foranent<sup>5</sup> quhilke on the vthir syd standes the Towre of Louett.<sup>6</sup>

In thir Seyes amang vthiris fishes, ar mony ostiris, and mussilis, and abundance of vthir kyndes, and varietie that breidis amang the stanes and grauel. Neir this is a famous furde in the Riuer of Forn<sup>7</sup> called the Stocfurde of the Rosse, and this is another maner of fishing mekle esier, quhilke in vthiris places amaist ouer al lykwyse may be seine. For nocht sa mekle fishe thay with nettis as with skepis,<sup>8</sup> or long kreilis,<sup>9</sup> win<sup>10</sup> with wickeris in the forme of a hose sa round wouen, thir quhen thay lay in the furdes and waterdames<sup>11</sup> that fast thay stik in the sand, than wt<sup>12</sup> al facilitie thay fishe; for quhen the Sey flowis and cumis in at thir places, the fishe esilie cumis in ouer the damis and furdes, and entiris in the creilis: Bot now the Sey ebbis, and the fishe bydes in the creilis dry without water, and sa with litle trauel of the fisher ar takne.

Is mairatouer in Rosse the toune of Tan,<sup>13</sup> quhair is lykwyse a collegeyat kirk,<sup>14</sup> verie notable throuch the Reliques of S. Duthak Bischope, to quhilkes afortymes the christiane peple, for the religiounis cause was wonte to make a frequent

<sup>1</sup> At Fortrose, which consists of the two towns Rosemarkie and Chanoury.

<sup>2</sup> All the materials of the palace, and the greater part of the cathedral, were used by Cromwell in the erection of a fort at Inverness. <sup>3</sup> The Castle of Dingwall belonged to the Earls of Ross. The ruins of it still remain. <sup>4</sup> Red Castle in parish of Killearnan. It is now modernised, and claims to be the oldest inhabited house in Scotland, having been built in 1179 by David, brother of William the Lyon. <sup>5</sup> Opposite. <sup>6</sup> Lovat. <sup>7</sup> The Beaully River, in its upper reaches still called the Farrar. <sup>8</sup> Cf. bee-skeps, *i.e.*, straw baskets. <sup>9</sup> Osier baskets. <sup>10</sup> Woven. <sup>11</sup> Dams. <sup>12</sup> With. <sup>13</sup> Tain. <sup>14</sup> The Collegiate Church of St Duthac, founded in 1471 by Thomas Hay, Bishop of Ross.

and gret pilgrimage: The monumentis of this Antiquitie remanes evin yit in a certane Valey or Dale in Rosse, twa round touris eftir the forme of ane bell.<sup>1</sup> Thair ar twa Monasteris, the ane called the monaster of Ferne,<sup>2</sup> the vther frome the pleisour of the situatione is named the fair place or place of pleisure.<sup>3</sup>

Strathnauar the vtmost Prouince in Scotland lyes neist Rosse heir flowes the Sey to, called Deucaledonicum. Heir the thrie craigis of the vtmost parte of al the cost make twa bosumis or Lochis. The first of thame in Strathnauar to name is Houbrun, notable in mekledome: The vthir twa in Cathnesse ar Hoy, and Dunesbe<sup>4</sup> called, of quhilkes Ptolomie names this Dume. This is the last and hindmest hil in Scotland, and thairfor the schortest, bot the maist dangerous sailing ouer to the Iles of orknay be Pintland firthe. The cheif toune in Cathness is called Wik: ar lykwyse mony touris, and sey portis verie commodious. To Cathnese Suthirland is conioyned, quhair is the Bischopes sait of Cathnese in the citie called Dorn.<sup>5</sup> This cuntrey, as lykwyse the vthiris twa, is verie conuenient to the feiding of cattel and of wilde deir: quhairthrough the rentis to the possessours is the mair profitable and sueit, quhen through the les labour and expenses the ground prouydes quhat is sufficient for thame, frilie as it war. Thair is a castel weil fortified, quhais name is Dunrobin,<sup>6</sup> and vthiris not few touris erected to dryue away theiues neirhand, quha vses nocht sindle<sup>7</sup> to dryue the pray thairfra.

A parte of Rosse is Moray land, and lyes vpon the cost syde. It is a cuntrey alane by all the rest commendet with ws, for baith plentie and pleisure, for it is eivin and plane, without dubis and myres,<sup>8</sup> meruellous delectable in fair forrests, in thik wodis, in sueit sairing<sup>9</sup> flouris, weil smelling

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 73. <sup>2</sup> The Premonstratensian Abbey of Fearn was founded in 1221 in Edderton Parish, but was afterwards transferred to Fearn, on account of the rapacity of the neighbouring clans. Patrick Hamilton, Scotland's protomartyr, was Titular Abbot of Fearn. <sup>3</sup> Beaulieu. In its Bull of foundation it is called *Bellus Locus*. Beaulieu Priory was founded in 1232 by Sir John Bisset of Lovat for seven French monks of the congregation of Val de Choux, a sub-order of the Cistercian. <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 74. <sup>5</sup> Dornoch. <sup>6</sup> Founded in 1097 by Robert of Sutherland, after whom it is named. <sup>7</sup> Seldom. <sup>8</sup> Pools and marshes. <sup>9</sup> Savouring.

herbis, pleisant medowis, fyne quheit, and al kynde of stuffe orchardes and fruitful gairdings,<sup>1</sup> and than sa neir the coste; Thair is the air maist hailsum, vncorrupte, temperat, thair cludis and rain mekle les than in ony vthir place, and thairfor sa gret increse and plentie of cornes amang the nobilitie of the cuntrey. Thair the land bowing the selfe be litle and litle, with a certane laich lout<sup>2</sup> and bend with her bosum, sche into the mane sey spoutis out thir v. fludes, the Nesse, the Nardine,<sup>3</sup> Findorn, Losse,<sup>4</sup> and Spey. In quhilkes all abundance of Salmont ar takne, bot maist in Spey. Nathir is alane this proffit obtained in the mouthis and entries of the riueris, in many places, bot the space of mair than lx. myles abone, ye euin quhair the Loch selfe flowis out. Heir sal ye sie vpon baith the sydes of the riuer, for the fertilitie of the ground, the clemencie of the hevin, and gentlenes of the wethir, notable castelis, and certane touris erected for special men in the cuntrie, to wit, Huntlie, Rothesse,<sup>5</sup> Athol, and Moray, al Erles, and lykwyse for sum Lardes and Barrounis. Thair sal ye sie the larde of Granth<sup>6</sup> with al his familie in Strathspey, that is in the valley of Spey, on the vther syde towarde the selfe<sup>7</sup> original begining of Spey loch; In Badgenoth sal ye find the Glancatten<sup>8</sup> with sum statelie persones with thame of thair clan togither with thair cheif, quhome thay cal Makantosse: Mairouer Moray hes a freshe water loch called Spynie,<sup>9</sup> that mekle abundes in Swanis, in quhilke loch is a certane herb verie rare and sindle to be found, in quhilke because the Swan hes sa gret delyte, we cal the herbe olorine (because the swan in latin is olor). This indeid heirop is the nature, that quhair ance it fixis the rute it spreadis the selfe sa braid and wyde that v. myles of this loch of Spynie, sen we remember, quhair Salmonte afor did abunde, is now maid glare<sup>10</sup> and myre, the rute sa spreadis abundantlie. Heir baith ane honorable castel<sup>11</sup> and a plesande Palise ar erected to the Bischope of Moray.

<sup>1</sup> Gardens. <sup>2</sup> Gentle curve. <sup>3</sup> Nairn. <sup>4</sup> Lossie. <sup>5</sup> Rothes. <sup>6</sup> Castle Grant, near Grantown. <sup>7</sup> Same. <sup>8</sup> Clan Chattan. <sup>9</sup> This loch has almost disappeared. <sup>10</sup> Mud. <sup>11</sup> The palace, about two miles north of Elgin, is now in ruins. It was both a palace and a castle, Bishop Stewart (1461-1476) having had to strengthen it against the threats of the Gordons.

Nocht far frome the mouth of Spey is a fair and a famous merchand toun, quhais name is Elgin, quhair is sa noble and notable a kirke in beutie and decore that with vs it hes na make,<sup>1</sup> set furth, trimmed and maid ornat, with the Bischopes Cathedral, and college of the Chanonrie. Farther with diueris monasteris of Moray land it is decorat, of quhilkes the cheif is Pluscartie,<sup>2</sup> than Killossie.<sup>3</sup> Frome thir is nocht far the toune of the Forest,<sup>4</sup> nocht indeid verie magnifik, bot standes in sa pleisand a place that it hes na marrow.<sup>5</sup> Is lykwyse in Moray a castel of the kings, celebrat, famous, and of gret renowne, to name Tarnuai,<sup>6</sup> heir uses the Erle of Moray to make his cheif residens and resting.

At the mouth of the Ness is a toune nocht of smal reputatione named Ennirnesse,<sup>7</sup> quhair afor tymes was a gret tak and a schule of herring, of quhilke benifit a lang tyme now haue we bene spoylet, another cause quhy na man esteimes, bot the cause forsaid,<sup>8</sup> and this is commonlie thocht. In this toune is the kingis castel<sup>9</sup> baith lairge and stark. Heir the water of ye Ness flowis out of the loch of the same name, and baith haue this nature, that albeit the frost be nevir sa gret, thay freis neur: bot gif ony frosin thing be put athir in the loch or in the riuier, it thowis fra hand. Quhairfor quhen horsmen cumis to Ennirness in a gret and horrible frost, afor thay turne in to the lugeng, first in thay ryde into this riuier, to wasche thair horses, and to throw the pypes and schokles<sup>10</sup> of yce frosin vpon thame. Vpon the lochsyd of the Ness, of the kingis, is situat a verie alde and ancient hous called Vrquhart.<sup>11</sup> In Moray land, in the kirk of a certane village or clachan named Petty, ar keipit the banes of a certane persone quhome thay cal litle Johne, departed bot the space of thrie hundir yeirs, as the commone brute amang thame is, quhome the Antiphrastiks, that is, thay quha quhat thay speik meines contrare, callis litle: quhais Wydues of his banes and gretnes teiches that he was xiv. fute lang.<sup>12</sup> In his thie bane, or as we speik, his hanche

<sup>1</sup> Match, equal. <sup>2</sup> Pluscardyn. <sup>3</sup> Kinloss. <sup>4</sup> Forres. <sup>5</sup> Equal. <sup>6</sup> Tarnaway. <sup>7</sup> Inverness. <sup>8</sup> Another reason for which than that aforesaid, no one can imagine. <sup>9</sup> Built by Malcolm Canmore. <sup>10</sup> A stiriis et glacie, from the frozen knots and icicles. <sup>11</sup> Urquhart Castle on Strone Point. <sup>12</sup> It was formerly a common error to mistake the bones of animals for those of men of gigantic stature. Even Buffon fell into this error. Cf. Cuvier, *Ossements Fossiles*.

bane, is nocht ane of this age quha may nocht esilie hand and arme put in togihter.

The cost of Moray occupys thir twa cuntries, Ainyie<sup>1</sup> first, than Boen,<sup>2</sup> na les plentiful in cornes than abundant in pastural. Vpon the water of Douern,<sup>3</sup> ful of salmont fishe, standes the toune of Bamfe, quhair is ane aldé castel,<sup>4</sup> and lykwyse ane new palice<sup>5</sup> bot erectet and bigit with gret cost and expences, fra quhilke is nocht far the castel of the Boeni:<sup>6</sup> Bot another neirhand throuch the nature of the place sa strenthie, that vnwinnable it appeiris, thay cal it Finlater,<sup>7</sup> nocht far frome the toune of Culen, quhair a collegiat kirk<sup>8</sup> florised of alde.

Vpon the Riuer of Douern ar castelis, Touris, palices, and gentil menis places nocht few, in quhilkes ar cheif and Principal, Strathbolgie the principal place of the Erle of Huntley, & Rothemay:<sup>9</sup> Besyd is the toune of Turef<sup>10</sup> and touris<sup>11</sup> not few.

Nichtbouris to thame is Buquhane conuenient to cattel, nathir vnmeit for cornes: mair fortunat and happie than mony of the cuntries afor expreimed, in plentie of scheip, and meruellous multitude quhairin thay abounde, in the fynes of the wol and gudnes of it. Al the riueris that Buquhane conteines, excepte ane named the Ratra, abundes in Salmonte. In this cuntrey na Rattoune is bred, or, brocht in frome ony vthir place, thair may lyue.<sup>12</sup> Is mairatouer at the castel Slanis a certane coue, quhairin water continualie drapping, in a schorte space turnes in a verie quhyte stane, quhilke excepte (as the maner is) it schortlie had beine outtakne, incontinent<sup>13</sup> the coue it had fillit full.

As in Ingland the Jeit<sup>14</sup> stane is abundant, sa with ws, throuchout our coste, is mekle of this mater called succine, or ambre, quhilke the Greikis calles Electre: sum names it frome the Pine tree quhais smel it beiris: sum says it is

<sup>1</sup> Enzie. <sup>2</sup> Boyndie. <sup>3</sup> Deveron. <sup>4</sup> A mere fragment of this castle remains. It dates from at least as early as 1364. The portion in which Archbishop Sharpe was born was demolished at the beginning of this century. <sup>5</sup> This palace, which belonged to the Ogilvies, was destroyed by General Munro in 1640. <sup>6</sup> Boyne Castle, a seat of the Ogilvies from 1485, now a ruin. <sup>7</sup> Findlater Castle, also a seat of the Ogilvies, but now a ruin. <sup>8</sup> Founded by Robert Bruce, and made collegiate in 1543. <sup>9</sup> Rothiemay. <sup>10</sup> Turriff. <sup>11</sup> Castles. <sup>12</sup> See above, p. 76. <sup>13</sup> Straightway. <sup>14</sup> Jet.



a mater that wirkes out of the stanes, and hardnes throuch the calde nature of the Sey: It is, verilie, of a goldne colour and of a sueit sauor, cheiflie quhen onn the handes it is rubbit. With it, women uses to decore thame selves, and hing about thair halse<sup>1</sup> for Jewelis, colaris, or broches, and in lyke maner thairwith thair infantes to fortifie and arme I knawe nocht against quhat evil. A certane gret Lumpe and waichtie masse of amber, in this our age, was fund, gretter than ane horse, in the coste of Buquhane.<sup>2</sup> In Buquhan ar innumerable toures, and Gentle menis places, as of Erles, Barounis, Knichtes, partlie on the Sey syde and partelie in midcuntrey situat.

Buquhan and Boyn to thame lyes neist Froumarten<sup>3</sup> in the midcuntrey westirlye, quhair is a notable Palice<sup>4</sup> of the Lardes of Fyvie, and another of na les renoune pertiening til a worthie Knicht quhais style is Geicht.<sup>5</sup> Strathbolgie lykwyse, and the Gareoth<sup>6</sup> as thay baith ar copious and welthie in cornes, sa ar thay verie plesant in pastoral, medowis, wodis, and forrest fair. In the Gareoth is ane montane, quhilke goldne thay cal, the vulgar and commone stile of this montane is Dunedere,<sup>7</sup> because it is said to abund in golde. This thay collecte of the scheip quhilkes ar fed in this mountane, quhais teith and fleshe in lyke maner ar yallow, as with the cullour of golde thay had bene littid.<sup>8</sup> Is thair lykwyse a wondirful gret croune of stanes, quhilke rings agane, na vthirwyse than wt ane eccho in brasse or coppir.<sup>9</sup> That thair sumtyme was a certane temple of ane Idol the commoun speiking is: Is thair lykwyse a gret craig louting doune, quhilke they cal Bennachie.

The Gareoth, situat in a certane plesand and plane valey, betuene four gret and hich mountainis, is sa fertil a ground that yeirlye sik a birth<sup>10</sup> it beiris, as for quhilke cause it hes obtained this name, that thay cal it the commoun Barn or garnel<sup>11</sup> of Abirdine thair nychtbour citie. Heir ar mony baith Barounis and Gentle men vpsprung and flurised of that alde and ancient Stock of the Læslies,<sup>12</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Neck. <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 94. <sup>3</sup> Formartine. <sup>4</sup> Fyvie Castle. It was visited by Edward I. in 1296. <sup>5</sup> Gicht. Its castle was inhabited till the close of the last century, but is now a ruin. <sup>6</sup> Garioch. <sup>7</sup> See above, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Dyed. <sup>9</sup> The reference is to the vitrified fort. <sup>10</sup> Harvest. <sup>11</sup> Granary.

<sup>12</sup> The house of which Leslie was an illegitimate descendant.

sen we, or our fatheris could remember, thair haue euir and ay flurisd.

Ar mairouer in that mid coste vthiris diueris cuntreyes, sik as Stratyl,<sup>1</sup> Frendrachie,<sup>2</sup> Baluenie,<sup>3</sup> Stradounne,<sup>4</sup> and of this sorte mony mae, quhilkes indeid, because in few beuties we can say that thay excel the rest, willinglie we latt passe.

Than agane Marr lyes on the costsyde neist, thrimmilit<sup>5</sup> indeid as it war intil a narrow boundes, in ane parte, bot in ane vthir parte vppermer, braider and mair ample, bot in lenth it extendes to Badyenot the space ye of lx. myles rache in store,<sup>6</sup> and pastoral. In Marr lyes Abirdine, a famous citie, in a maner in twa partes diuidet, to wit, in ane alde toune, and ane new toune, and betuene the twa a feild put: bot on that syd quhair foundet ar the Bischopis Cathedral,<sup>7</sup> the Channounis honorable houses, the almous house or Hospital of the pure,<sup>8</sup> and that ancient Academie, and vniuersitie of renoune, is mekle mair illustre, and beutiful to behalde: than the othir, quhais decore cheiflie does consistie in Nobilitie of gentle men, and merchandes, and deidis of ciuilitie: baith the partes of the citie enioyes the twa riuieris Die and Don alyke, with a schip read,<sup>9</sup> or hartsum<sup>10</sup> hauining place, togithir with grene cnowis<sup>11</sup> upon the seysyde. This notwithstanding, peculiar or proper, hes thir twa riuieris, that lichtlie thay excel the rest of the fludes and riuieris in Albion in thir thrie things; in plentie of Salmonte, plentie, I say, Gretnes, and Gudnes.<sup>12</sup>

We knawe sa weil, that nathing bettir, in the Water of Die, at Abirdin, of gret Salmont after<sup>13</sup> than ance to have been takne at ane draucht ccc. That quhilke suntymes chances in the riuier of Spey, and sum vthiris. Farther, quhy with vs is gretter welth of Salmonte, than with vthiris nationis quhilkes excel our natioune in wateris and riuieris, this for a rasone vses to be gyuen, that this kynde of fishe abhorris frome mudie water, and in cleir water delytes, and

<sup>1</sup> Strathisla. <sup>2</sup> Frendraught. <sup>3</sup> A district in Speyside. See Blaeu's Atlas. <sup>4</sup> Strathdon, now a parish of West Aberdeenshire. <sup>5</sup> Compressed. <sup>6</sup> Sheep and cattle. <sup>7</sup> Founded by the twelfth Bishop of Aberdeen, Alexander Kinonmonth II. (1356-1380). <sup>8</sup> Founded by Bishop Gavin Dunbar in 1532 for twelve bedesmen. <sup>9</sup> Jean de Beaugué (1548) says that Aberdeen has an excellent harbour, but a bad roadstead (*E.T.*, p. 66). <sup>10</sup> Pleasant. <sup>11</sup> Hillocks. <sup>12</sup> Size and quality. <sup>13</sup> Oftener.

in sandie furdes, of quhilke a stark rasone thay vse to collecte, that in Bond,<sup>1</sup> and vthiris riueris in Irland, quhilkes cheiflie through nature ar baith maist cleir, and maist pure, Salmonte in gretter number thair ar takne than in ony vthir place of the Warlde. Mairatouer because we of the Salmonte haue maid sa ofte mentione, it wil nocht offend the reidar heir to twoche sum things that we haue leired<sup>2</sup> of thame, or of our awne institutiounis,<sup>3</sup> or be sum sure and certane experience haue knawen.

The nature thairfor of the Salmonte is, in Haruest to gendre, at quhat tyme this consuetude is commoun with vs, to haue a cheife regarde to the heid, for than thay feir principallie the perrel of the heid, thairfor thay avoyd al occasione, sa far as is possible, and this indures frome the saxt of September vnto the first of December. Bot quhen thair young is now brocht furth, thay ar sa leane, the hie Salmonte haueng castne the meltis, and the sche salmonte the Rounis,<sup>4</sup> that mony doubtis gif thir be the verie rycht Salmont that vses than to be takne, or another kynd of fishe. The occasione of the doubte is this, that at vthiris tymes, in thair bowelis thay ar neuir knawen to haue ony thing, bot a certane thik humour: quhairthrough mony takes the occasione to meruel, quhairof thay feid, quhen thay ar sa sappie and sa fatt, and gudlyke:<sup>5</sup> bot of this thay meruel, that quhilkes amang thame ar sa leane, quhen thay twoche<sup>6</sup> the fatter amang thame, thay al ar alyke leane, in sa far that oft this hes bene fund, the fatt syde that hes bene twochet with the leane hes through leinnes bene vtirle deformat, bot the vthir syde fatt and fair. Thair young, quhen now thay haue castne, afor thay be a fingre gretter, thay swome to the Sey, quhair in the space of ane moneth or twa thay grow almaist til ane incredible gretnes. Bot incontinent, as gif thay war not content of al this felicitie, thay returne to the narow boundes of the Watiris, quhair bred thay war, and in draues<sup>7</sup> as it war, returnes to thair awne cuntrey. Than may be sene how nocht onlie contrare the swofte<sup>8</sup> and vehement surges of the Sey thay swome through, quhen thay returne, bot through quick sandes, and narow furdes, with sik force thay

<sup>1</sup> Bann? <sup>2</sup> Learned. <sup>3</sup> From our statutes. <sup>4</sup> Roe. <sup>5</sup> In such good condition. <sup>6</sup> Touch. <sup>7</sup> Shoals. <sup>8</sup> Swift.

passee to the riueris that thay cam fra, that in a band and knot together thay leip quhair thay find impediment, ouer a stay<sup>1</sup> bank or hich fal of Water maid in a Damm, sa gret desyr, through the affectione of nature, thay haue to be quhair thay war bred, quhairfor, ony Lope<sup>2</sup> thocht wondirful, is compaired with the Salmonte, and commounlie called the Salmont lope: farthermair, is cum in a commune prouerbe, that quha of vs, haue, amang strange natiouns, beine welthie, and eftir returneng to thair awne cuntrie haue falin in pouertie, ar said to be not vnlyke to the Salmonte, quha tynes<sup>3</sup> in smal Watiris, and riueris rycht narow, the gret fatnes, that thay fand in the braid Sey.

Is conioynet to the Prouince of Marr, vpon the Sey syde the cuntrie of the Mernes, quhilke in victual and pastoral excelis mony of the cuntries forsaidis. Heir is the castel of Dunnotyre,<sup>4</sup> a hous rycht strenthie, naturallie, and maist<sup>5</sup> mansione of the Erles of Marchel: heir sindrie touris and gentle menis places, Couie,<sup>6</sup> lykwyse, and Barie<sup>7</sup> tounes not of the laichest digrie. Heir lykwyse anc alde and ancient toune to name Fordun quhair keipet haue bene the reliques of S. Palladius<sup>8</sup> quha was called the Apostle of Scotland. Neist this province is the toune of Mountrose, ance Colurt quhilke was namet, situat with this benifite, that it hes a worthie and verie notable hauin for schipis.<sup>9</sup> In the bordirs of Marr and Mernes, the gret hil named Grampie,<sup>10</sup> sa mekle renouned in the alde Romane histories, begins nocht far frome the cost besyd Abirdin, extending through the mid-cuntries, sum tymes braider, sum tymes narrower, evin to the West Sey, ay quhil it cum to Dunbartane, ye and til Argyle.

To the Mernes neist succedis Angus, a cuntrie surelie beutiful baith through the gift of nature and through the Industrie and thriftines of the inhabitouris: Angus is induet with thrie riueris, first northerlie with the riuer of Esk, secundlie sutherlie with the sam riuer of Esk,<sup>11</sup> thriddie with the best riuer of al the riuers in Scotland named Tai: of quhilkes, Tai, rinning through diuerse cuntries flowis out

<sup>1</sup> Steep. <sup>2</sup> Leap. <sup>3</sup> Loses. <sup>4</sup> Dunnottar. <sup>5</sup> Largest. <sup>6</sup> Cowie. <sup>7</sup> Bervie. <sup>8</sup> See above, p. 77. <sup>9</sup> Cf. Jean de Beaugué's description of Montrose (*E.T.*, p. 66). <sup>10</sup> See above, p. 48. Leslie was the first to apply the name Grampians to what was formerly known as the Mounth. <sup>11</sup> Leslie simply says the North and the South Esk.

of a loch of the sam name xxiv. myles lang, and twa myles braid; at last rinis into the main Sey. This ground is fertil baith in quheit and in al vthir kinde of stuffe: braid hillis, lochis, wodis, and forrestis, garssie<sup>1</sup> passtural and mony medowis, Castellis and touris exceiding monie, it hes.

Vpon the Water of Tai sal ye sie a notable toune baith in number of citiyenis and commoditie of the hauining place, to name Dundie, sumtyme called Alectum, quhilke albeit it be nocht esteimed the richest, it may weil be esteimed the neist riche: Nether sal ye weil discern quither thay be richer in outlandis geir<sup>2</sup> and merchandise, or in thair awne labour and industrie, quhen through the awne schipis and sailing it lykwyse is riche. Mairouer because Riches, ofspring, and plesures, as oft hes bene vsed and sene with sindrie and strange natiounis, lychtlie corruptes the godlie institutiounis of our Elderis (as we sie this day), and lykwyse the gudnes of lyfe or gude maneris, as we say, Dundie, in latine Deidonum, the gift of God, walde be called in Scottis: Bot now, I say, Dundie, contrare the Etymologie or true interpretatioune of the name, was the first amang ws suspecte of hæresie, of quhilke eftirward we wil speik mair at large: Is in Angus mairouer the toune of Brichine, and thair a Bischopis sait, bot the eldest toune in al that cuntrey to name is Forfare, and of grettest priuelege and authoritie, quhair is ane Jugement sait and Justice courte haldne,<sup>3</sup> and power to Juge, bot now redacted<sup>4</sup> to pouertie, of na reputatione is haldne, bot brocht to nocht. Amang the monasteris heir in Angus ar twa mair notable than the rest, to wit, Abirbroth, and Cuper,<sup>5</sup> because nane wil excel Arbrothe in yeirlye rent: and althocht Cuper be na compare to Arbroth, yit in monesteris of meane or midway rentis it may haue the first place, of quhilke afor we haue maid mentione.

#### OF THE ILES OF SCOTLAND; AND FIRST OF THE WEST ISLES CALLED HEBRIDES OR EUBONIÆ.

Quhen now we of a grosse maner<sup>6</sup> haue sett doune on baith the handes, the boundes of hail Scotland, we sal do

<sup>1</sup> Grassy. <sup>2</sup> Fōreign goods. <sup>3</sup> Held. <sup>4</sup> Reduced. <sup>5</sup> Only a fragment now remains of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus founded in 1164 by Malcolm the Maiden. <sup>6</sup> In a general way.



diligence to forme, and with a pinicill nocht vnlyke, to drawe the Iles lying thairto. Sum of the Iles ar called Hebrides and vthir sum ar called Orchades: Thir hebrides ar situat Westirlie, toward the cost of Irland, thir called orcales or of Orknay Northerlie or eisterlie, of quhilkes sum monstrous gret amang thame lyis to the coste of Carrik ánd Galloway, and with a long course evin to the Lennos,<sup>1</sup> and in the entrie and mouth of Clide ar extendet. The first of the Iles toward the South is named the Ile of Man, in thir our dayes vndir the dominione of Ingland, quhilke Cæsar treulie testifies in mid course to be transported frome Britannie til Irland: perchance the Greikis named this Ile Man, first, because it was solitar and frome ony vthir appeired to be far seperat: In lenth it is xxx. myles, for schipis ane hauin or twa, and a Bischopis sait<sup>2</sup> it hes. We haue in a traditiōe of alde, that thair was the first sait of thame called druides, and that this Ile was the fontane of al halynes and doctrine maist singular: and that the nobil menis sones of our Realme vsed thair to be sent and thair to be instructed, and brocht vpe.<sup>3</sup> Thay, notwithstanding, of Cambria or Wailis, contendes against thame, and says that afortymes this now called the Ile of Man was called Maneuia, and the Ile that lyis neist, now called Anglese, was the Ile of Man, & this argument of the proprietie of the language thay collecte.<sup>4</sup>

The neist Ile named Elza<sup>5</sup> mair worthie to be named a hich rock or craig than to be named ane Ile, abundes in Solend geis, and monie vthiris sey foulis.

Agane ouir rycht foranents the tounis Aire and Irvine is the Ile of Aran, lang xxiv. myles, and braid viii., quhair cornes abundes and pleasand pastoral. Is heir ane hiche mountane, quhair of Wylde deir is a meruellous multitude.

A porte, or surer schiping place lychtlie sal ye nocht find, thay cal it Lamelas:<sup>6</sup> It is a bosum of the Sey, in the ley<sup>7</sup> of a hich montane<sup>8</sup> conteyned, quhair na storme or tempest of wethir can cum, bot out of quhat arte<sup>9</sup> sa euir the wind blawe, schipis may sail baith in and out without al danger.

<sup>1</sup> Lennox. <sup>2</sup> Seat. The bishopric of Sodor and Man. <sup>3</sup> Up. <sup>4</sup> Mona is now identified with Anglesea. <sup>5</sup> Ailsa. <sup>6</sup> Lamlash. <sup>7</sup> Lee. <sup>8</sup> Holy Island. <sup>9</sup> Quarter.

Aran and Bute are nocht bathe ane Ile, as sum takes a false opinione, quhen<sup>1</sup> the ane being situat in the mouth of the ferrie of Clide is thrie houris sailing frome the vthir. Bute mairatouer is ane elegant and trimme Ile, x. myles lang eivin and plane, induct with gret fertilitie, decored wt ane ancient and magnifik castel,<sup>2</sup> quhairfra first sprang, as we haue of ane alde traditione, the clann of the kingis hous, to wit, the style of the Stuardes, and familie.<sup>3</sup> This lykwyse is thot to be named Rothesai, and that name to haue takne frome him quha first brocht the Scottis men out of Irland to that Ile, named Rothesus. Howeur the mater be, vppirmer, in the sam ferrie, on the coste of the Lennose, is another not vnlyke to this in forme, gretnes, and welthines, ye and thair names amaist commoune, for it is commounlie called Rosneth:<sup>4</sup> bot quhither it sulde be rekned amang the Iles called Hebrides I doubte.

Because we make haste, I wil nocht make mekle talkeng of the les Iles, albeit thay haue decore,<sup>5</sup> and ar outsett<sup>6</sup> in touris and litle tounes. Of thir sorte ar twa not far frome Bute, of quhilkes the ane is called gret Cumbra and the vthir lytle Cumbra: another is beyond the heich hill, quhilke thay cal the mule of Caintyre, quhair a Rede for schipis is verie sure, the name thair of Sanda. Agane another is beyond the sam hill, skairce 4 myles frome the coste of Irland, vi. myles lang or thair about, quhair is a porte mekle commendet called Rachra.<sup>7</sup> Farther frome this, as ye sail toward the North, sal ye find mony not far frome vthir seperat, bot different in names: of quhilkes the maist nominat<sup>8</sup> amang thame is this, situat foranent Loquhaber, quhais name is Yla, xxx. myles lang or thair about, a fair feild and plane, fertil and in mettels abundant. Besyd Aona the Ile commonnlie called Ycolmkil, that is the Kirke of S. Colme, called maist famous, be rasone of the Bischopes sait that it conteinis, of the monasteris, ane of religious men, another of women, and than because it was the commoune

<sup>1</sup> Since. <sup>2</sup> Rothesay Castle, the original portion of which is said to have been built by Magnus Barefoot in 1098. <sup>3</sup> Rothesay Castle was the residence of the Lord High Stewards of Scotland. Walter, the sixth Steward, married Marjory, the daughter of Robert Bruce, from whom sprang the Royal Stewarts. <sup>4</sup> In Mercator's map, Rothesay appears as *Rosay*, and Rosneath as *Rosnethy*. <sup>5</sup> Beauty. <sup>6</sup> Adorned with. <sup>7</sup> Rathlin. <sup>8</sup> Renowned.

sepulchre and burial of al the kings eftir King Fergus the secund quha Scotland restored agane til ws, quhen we war vanquissit be the Romanis: quhair lykwyse was keipet in custodie mony buikes of antiquitie, quhilkes out of Rome, quhen be the Gothis it was ouircum, throuch the industrie and trauel of this sam King Fergus war in this Ile inbrocht. Nocht far frome this, amang mony vthiris les yles, is ane, lytle inferiour to Yla selfe, called the Mule,<sup>1</sup> bot ful of hilis and stanes, and barren or mair fructles than the rest: Nottheles mony bosumis<sup>2</sup> and lochis, and commodious sey portes it hes. We vndirstand, as we haue hard say, that in it is a fontane twa myles distante frome the Sey, out of quhilke egis<sup>3</sup> verie small, schineng sa cleir as a pretious margarite, flowis intil a certane bosum of salt water on the sey syd, quhair in the space of xii. houris thay grow in fair cokilis or bukies.<sup>4</sup> Betuene this and the land, and lykwyse beyond it, as ye sail to that gret Ile, quhais name is Eusta,<sup>5</sup> thir Iles be the way sal ye find, Cambery,<sup>6</sup> Lismon,<sup>7</sup> Terrey,<sup>8</sup> Corsay,<sup>9</sup> and mony mae.

Mairchis with Eusta, the Ile called Leuiss,<sup>10</sup> mair than ony of quhilkes we haue yit maid mentione, in lenth lx. myles, and xxx. in bredth, plentie of beir and aites, gude garse, and plesand pastural, it mairatouer abundes in peple. Mony lochis it hes, riueris bot ane, welthie in Salmont. Agane, ane lytle les than this, sal ye find not far frome land, called the Skie, induet almaist with the sam giftes, quhilkes the vthir, and this mekle mair, that in sey calues or saylches<sup>11</sup> it hes na smal number, quha feir bot litle the presens of men. Thair clanis, in quhais possessiones ar baith thir Iles, and in a maner ar litle kings heir, ar called Makleud,<sup>12</sup> that is, in thair speich, the sones of Claudius. Heir now, be a com-moune vse of succeding, thay entir at thair awne hand without ony mair, albeit afortymes, be electione of thair clan thay succidet, as vthir lordes or litle kings in the Iles. In boundes about the Skie ar verie mony fair and plesand Iles, of quhilkes the maist renouned and famous ar thir, the Ron,<sup>13</sup> the Rume,<sup>14</sup> Cannay,<sup>15</sup> Fladdan,<sup>16</sup> Trautaness,<sup>17</sup> Egg,<sup>18</sup> Fladd,<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mull. <sup>2</sup> Bays. <sup>3</sup> Eggs. <sup>4</sup> Cockles or periwinkles. <sup>5</sup> Uist. <sup>6</sup> Cairnburgh.  
<sup>7</sup> Lismore. <sup>8</sup> Tiree. <sup>9</sup> Coll. <sup>10</sup> Lewis. <sup>11</sup> Seals. <sup>12</sup> Macleod. <sup>13</sup> Rona.  
<sup>14</sup> Rum. <sup>15</sup> Canna. <sup>16</sup> Fladda. <sup>17</sup> Treshnish Islands. <sup>18</sup> Eigg. <sup>19</sup> Fladda.

Ronary:<sup>1</sup> and last of all is the Ile called Hirth,<sup>2</sup> and as the Ile of Man is the first of al the Iles called Hebrides, sa is Hirth the last, and be the Astronomeris is rekned betuene Hirth and Man 377 myles, quhen eftir thair constitutione, Hirth is in the saxtie thrie digrie, and man in the fiftie sevinth. The Ile Hirth hes the name frome a certane scheip of the sam name, in quhilke this only Ile did abunde. This scheip may be comparet in heicht til a gait,<sup>3</sup> in gretnes til a buffil,<sup>4</sup> quhais hornes in lenth excelis the hornes of a buffil.

Neist this lyis another Ile,<sup>5</sup> bot nocht inhabited, quhair nae kynd of cattail is fund, excepte sum verie wylde, quhilkes to cal scheip or gait, or rathir nouthir scheip nor gait, we knawe not, nor wat we weil: for by thair wylde nature, nathir haue thay wol lyke a scheip; nathir beir thay hair lyke a gait, bot for nane of the twa, I can nocht tel quhat.

Amang thir Iles, evin as amang thame of Orknay, ar mony quick sandes, scharp rockis, and gret goufes<sup>6</sup> ful of perrellous and deip dangeris, bot the worst, cruellest, and maist suspecte amang thame al, thay cal Corbreche:<sup>7</sup> because within the space of a myle, it swallyis vp hail schipis, and through the violence and vehement force of contrare workeng of the wais of the sey, quhen ilke streme stryues with vthir, drounes thame in the deip. Quha sailis frome thir Iles is verie radie to incur sik danger, as quha frome the mane land in Cathnese sailing til Orknay is able to incur danger, through Pintland firth, quhair contrare surges and waues of the sey flowis fordward and bakward with sik violence, baith out of the Eister Seyis and out of the Westir Seyis, than lykwyse frome al the Kruikes and turnes of the Iles, thay stryue sa stoutlie in vthiris contrare, that thair thay can nocht sail, without ony les danger, than thay ar of avail, and a special regarde of thair awne saiftie.

In fauour of the reidar, I thoct gude heir of the geis to speik a few wordes, for thair meruellous multitude in our cuntries, cheiflie in the west yles and lykwyse for the raritie and fewtie<sup>8</sup> or scant of sum of thame in vthiris cuntries.

Excepte the Solande geise, of quhilkes afor we haue maid

<sup>1</sup> Ronay, a parish in North Uist. <sup>2</sup> A former name for St Kilda. <sup>3</sup> Goat.

<sup>4</sup> Buffalo. <sup>5</sup> Soa. <sup>6</sup> Gulfs. <sup>7</sup> Corrievreckin. <sup>8</sup> Fewness.

mentione, how thay ar bredd at hame; with vs vthir sax kyndes of geis ar funde, quhilkes only in thrie things ar fund to differ, to wit, in the sownde of thair voce, in gretnes of thair bodye, and taist of thair fleshe, quhilkes al ar seine in innumerable draues<sup>1</sup> to flie to thir farthest Iles, in the spring of the yeir, eftir midday, and thairfor this opinione of thame is haldne, that athir in thir westir Iles or in Grundlande,<sup>2</sup> quhen toward the South anothir land is not knawen, thay big thair nestis. Sum of thame notwithstanding, through a certane craft, ar allured and prouoked to remane amang the lochis and myrie places and amang the hathir and mures, amang ws, quhil thay haue laid thair eggis, and clekit<sup>3</sup> thair burdes: for sum of thame, quhilkes wt nettis ar takne, thair wingis ar clipit, and fed in the hous, quhil thay be tame: Thaireftir out and in frilie thay flie and swome, and nocht only returnes hame agane to thair accustomed and vsed fude, bot lykwyse thay bring vthiris with thame of thair awne kynde, as called to the banquet, and commone feist with thame selves, quhilkes quhen thay haue baytet,<sup>4</sup> thay at last leir<sup>5</sup> thame to sit, without al feir in the mid feild, and yardes, and plane places; and haldes thame stil besyde thame as neir nychtbouris, quhil al thair nestis be bigit, and thair young clekit. Of quhilkes is ane mekle les than the rest, that the claik guse<sup>6</sup> we cal, of quhilke nocht only framet<sup>7</sup> natiouns meruelis mekle, bot evin not litle our awne cuntrie peple: for it hes nocht sa mekle a taste of the Sey as of the firr trie, quhairfor because thair nest, nathir thair eggs in ony place ar funde, sum haue the opinione that thay breid of the fructe of the trie, and now quhen thay ar rype and radie to flie, thay fal into the Sey. Vthiris thinkes agane that nocht onlie of the firr trie, bot of the rotne Stockes of vthiris tries, that growe in the Iles, quhair quhen thay ar consumed through aldnnes, first breidis of thame wormes, at last foulis.

Surelie Hector Boyis,<sup>8</sup> a man nocht les notable in Iugement than famous in eruditione, and a maist curiouse sercher out of this secrete, and nature of this foul, ascriues this wondirful worke al and hail to the benifite and nature of

<sup>1</sup> Drovers, flocks. <sup>2</sup> Greenland. <sup>3</sup> Hatched. <sup>4</sup> Fed. <sup>5</sup> Teach. <sup>6</sup> Barnacle goose. <sup>7</sup> Foreign. <sup>8</sup> Boece.



the Sey; to preiue the truth of this mater, and of quhilke the veritie may be esilie knawen, he brings thrie things that he hard, and the fourth;<sup>1</sup> quhilke he present sawe with his eyne, to quhilkes we thocht gude to ioine sume vthir things, na les probable. First he affirmes that, in the yeir of God 1489, was a gret trie, with the waues of the Sey inbrocht, and on the Sey syd outcastne, at Petslegie<sup>2</sup> in Buquhan, the trie being sawin, in it was seine, in presense of that illustre and noble Barroune quha is Larde of that place, and mony vthiris mae than he, a meruellous multitude of wormes, of quhilkes sum war yit greine & young, bot vthiris ar seine with thair memberis hail, and in due forme, and partelie thay had the similitude of perfyte schapen foulis; amang quhilkes (says he) sum was through and ruch fethired,<sup>3</sup> sum agane was fethirles, naked and bare: this trie in testimonie heiroyf, to the kirke of the nychtbour dorpe<sup>4</sup> was brocht, named Tyrie, and thair laid vpe, and evin to his tyme, he affirmes, hes bene keipet.

Another thing not vnlyke, he sayis, was seine, twa yeirs eftir this, in a ferray vpon Tai, at Bruchtie Craig:<sup>5</sup> last of al he inferis<sup>6</sup> that nocht lang, bot a litle eftir, landet at Leith, the porte of maist renoune in the hail Realme, a gret and monstruous schip, frome ane of thir forsaid Iles, quhair thrie yeirs, her anker being castne, sche had stayed, her name Christophorus, and brocht now to the schore, he testifies that mony ane sawe the balkes<sup>7</sup> of the same schip cleine consumed, and ful of the same kynd of wormes, sum of thame litle and young, sum agane with the ful schapp<sup>8</sup> of ane foul. And to the intent he mycht preine<sup>9</sup> that to thir stockis and tries, that grows in thir Iles, this vertue sulde nocht be attributed; he says farther, that him selfe present, he saw bred of a sey tangle, mussilis, and quhen thay were apued through desyre to knawe quhat was in thame, was fund inclosed nocht fishe, bot foules, euerie foul conueining to the gretnes of the schel, quhairoyf is euident and cleir, his opinionie is, that this generatione of Geis proceids not of ane rotne stock, or of the frutes of thir tries that grow in the Iles, bot rathir of the maine Sey,<sup>10</sup> quhilke Maro,<sup>11</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 90. <sup>2</sup> Pitsligo. <sup>3</sup> Covered with rough feathers. <sup>4</sup> Thorpe.

<sup>5</sup> Broughty. <sup>6</sup> Relates. <sup>7</sup> Keels (*carinae*). <sup>8</sup> Shape. <sup>9</sup> Prove. <sup>10</sup> Ocean.

<sup>11</sup> *Oceanumque patrem rerum.*—Geo. IV. 382.

afor him Homer, estemed that the father of al things was it rychtlie called.

This in lyke maner wil preiue the sentence of Hect. Boyis to be true, quhilke eftir his depairting we observet on his behalfe. For in the yeir of God 1562, in the same forsaid Leith porte, we saw a certane gret schip, bot throuch aldnes defected,<sup>1</sup> quhilke the wintir afor frome Portugal thair had arryuet; we saw her brocht to the schore and al her takilling loused. The hail peple than meikle meruelling, that war present, saw vpon the outsyde of this schip mony thousandis of sik lytle foules stiking to the schip, thrie fingres lang, of a meruellous perfyte and weil schapen forme, excepte that thay war litle, lyueles,<sup>2</sup> and fethirles. Mairouer the yeir of God 1566, was presented to the maist honorable, our noble Maistres Quene Marie of Scotis, quhill in Striuiling Sche satt, a branche of a certane trie fra quhilke mony fructes, as thay had bene, hang doune, litle indeid, bot innumerable mussillis, in quhilkes war fund not fishe (a meruel) bot foulis, perchance of the same sorte as Hector Boyis testifies he sawe. In the meine tyme quhill this I wrot I cam in cumpanie in Rome with Doctour Allan<sup>3</sup> of Inghland, a graue man, doctour of Theologie, quha testifies how oft he saw thir lytle foulis in sik formes vpon the keillis of alde schipis, in the West of Inghland vpon the coste of langcastre and schore thair. And this far of the Iles called Hebrides.

#### OF THE ILES OF ORKNAY.

Thir Iles called orchades lyis mair eistirlie, partelie situat towarde the mayne Sey,<sup>4</sup> and partelie towarde the sey called Deucaledonicum;<sup>5</sup> in number thay ar xxxii. Amang thir is ane named Pomonia, quhilke is of sik a boundes that the inhabitouris calles it the mayne land, and quhilke may haue the first place. In it is a citie to name Kirkual, of gude renoune throuch a Bischopis sait, twa

<sup>1</sup> Orig. *vetustate defectam*—worn with age. <sup>2</sup> Lifeless. <sup>3</sup> Cardinal Allan, the founder of the English College at Douai. For an interesting notice of him see an article in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. clviii., by Mr T. G. Law. <sup>4</sup> The Atlantic Ocean. <sup>5</sup> The whole tract of water along the west coast of Scotland.

castelis,<sup>1</sup> the ane for the king, the vthir for the Bischope, baith of starke munitione. And trulie to speik without al invie the verie truth, nocht in the Warlde perchance sal ye find quhair of les expenses, mair bountiful and large thay lyue, than evin thair: Notwithstandeng growis thair not ane trie, not ane pickle<sup>2</sup> quheit, nochtheles in ates and beir it abundes. We remember in the tyme of King James the fyfte, leist athir strangers or quha cumis eftir vs beleive vs nocht, that a hundir eggs commonlie war cofte<sup>3</sup> for a frenche sous of Turine:<sup>4</sup> and that nane think that I speik sophisticallie, thir eggs of quhilkes I speik ar henis eggs, and new or fresche: and agane that I be nocht thocht to speik hyperboliklie or abone my boundes, I say les, thay sal vndirstande, than the truth is, for chances verie oft with thame, that thair yewis sumtymes twa, sumtymes thrie lambes at ance do lambe. To knawe the rest be thir, is als esie as to ken the lionne be his taes.<sup>5</sup> Thair horses ar verie litle, litle mair than the asse, bot in labour meruellous durable. Of the foulis, of the fishes, how copious<sup>6</sup> thair thay ar, I neid to say naything, quhilke far excellis the commoune opinione of men. Is thair farther a special benefite of God, quhairwt thay are bliste, as is affirmed surelie be thame of Irland, that thair is nocht ane serpent fund, nor fund is thair na venneous beist, ye quhat venneous is, or lyke a venneous kynde athir thair is not, as the paddock;<sup>7</sup> or than oft is nocht, as the eddir.<sup>8</sup> Valiantlie and balde thair vse thay to drinke, bot few (quhair of we wondir) thair sie we drunkne, or vnable to rule thame selves we find: nathir ony thair wod<sup>9</sup> or daft, as sum wil. Al thair cum to perfyte age,—nevir falling in na kinde of seikneis. To the doctour of medicine amang thame na man compleines, or makes his mane:<sup>10</sup> because thay ar al induet with a gude constitutione, and starke complectione of body, and farther thay haue the benifite of a verie hailsume air: to quhilkes the labour quhilke thay vse be sey and lande, sa that it be moderate, gif thay apply, makis a young and lustie age.

<sup>1</sup> The King's Castle, built in the 14th century by Henry St Clair, and the Bishop's Palace, built in the 13th. <sup>2</sup> A small quantity. <sup>3</sup> Bought. <sup>4</sup> A mis-translation for Tours in France. The coinage of Tours was less in value by a fifth than that of Paris (John Major's *History*, p. 30 (note), Scot. Hist. Soc.). <sup>5</sup> Toes. <sup>6</sup> Plentiful. <sup>7</sup> Frog. <sup>8</sup> Adder. <sup>9</sup> Mad. <sup>10</sup> Moan.

Mony surelie oftymes throughe inuie that thay beir to sa gret felicitie, quhen quyetlie creip in behind backis thay walde; thay fal platt<sup>1</sup> on thair backes, that al may behalde.<sup>2</sup> How enir it be, to thair Patrone S. Magne neist eftir God thay attribute mekle; quhome thay say to appeir to thame in thair defence against thair ennimies in gret danger, and that oft to haue done thay affirme. Bot the gretter Iles of Orknay ar thir, quhilkes this Pomonia contienes quhairof we afor maid mentione, to wit, Soutrowassa, Rosa, Hoy, Stronza, Etha, Pappa, Pappawestre, Sandes, Ronaldsa, bot the les Iles ar Grainzie, Birza, Eglesey Wyer, Gersoy, Gersol, Kobunza, Sounnas, Stroma, Ouiskelle, Northronche, and vthiris ma.<sup>3</sup>

Ar lykwyse beyond the Isles of Orknay vthiris twa Iles subduet to Scotland, to wit of Schytland: frome orknay distant a hundir myles, bot gretter than ony Ile in orknay, amang quhome is verie litle victual, excepte it be brocht in frome sum vthir cuntrie. Al thair fishe dryet in the sone, in thame thair riches consistes, and in the oyle of quhailis,<sup>4</sup> and of vthiris fishes, and in the skinis of wilde beistes: for throuch sik kynde of merchandise the Holanderis thay allure esilie to thame, and vthiris nerrest natiounis thair nychtbouris, fra quhome thay receiue agane victual, and vthiris necessaris to thair vsses: Thay lyue nochtwtstandeng as lyue thair nychbouris of Norway, surlie maist happilie, wtout al seiknes, quhil thay be of a decrepite age: This age with thame, at leist thay cal ane hundir yeiris: as indeid ar mony among thame quha haue past this age, and yit ar fresche and lustie of body; The forme of thair body beutiful, a decent stature, and manlie strenth: in the rest thay agrie wt thame of Orknay. Of all Iles the hindmest is Island in the freising Sey, neist the pol artiete, quhair brayet<sup>5</sup> fishe thay vse for meil, and thairof thay make breid, and the baines of thir fishe thay vse for elding<sup>6</sup> to the fyre. Sum halde the opinione this to be the Ile called Thule: Bot gif

<sup>1</sup> Flat. <sup>2</sup> The translation here is almost unintelligible. The original may be rendered as follows:—"Many, envying the great happiness of these places, have covertly sought to settle in them; but the heavy misfortunes that soon overtook them proclaimed them to be strangers." <sup>3</sup> The modern names of these islands are: Westray, Rousay, Stronsay, Eday, Sanday, Graemsay, Birsay, Weir, Gairsay, Greenholm, Copinshay, Swona, Auskerry, North Ronaldshay. <sup>4</sup> Whales. <sup>5</sup> Pounded. <sup>6</sup> Fuel.

this be it that the Romanis called Thul, is a questione, and we haue gude cause to doubte. For Tacitus writes that the Romane Classe,<sup>1</sup> quhilke at the commande of Agricola sailed about al Britannie, saw the Ile called Thul. Of Thul, quhilke Ptolomie discernet to be amang the hindmest Iles of Schytland, vpon the coste of Norway, for the gret space betuene can nocht be vndirstandet, and thairfor, quhilke the Romanes than vndirstude to be Thul and saw, athir for the fame amang al thir Iles, quhen may be, that vthiris mair northirlie, nocht yit haue bene inhabited, or for the affinitie of the name, of quhilke we spak afor, sum thinkes it be the Ile called Yla. For to eik<sup>2</sup> ane lettir is facile; and surelie gif ye consider rycht ouer to the West Yla is of al Iles the hindmest: Sum thinkes agane it be Lewis. Bot be quhat it wil, as Island is affirmed to be the hindmest of al Iles, gif ye consider the north, we eftir our opinione thinkes that this was Thul.<sup>3</sup> And lat this be sufficient baith for the Iles called Hebrides and for the Iles named Orcades.

#### OF THE SCOTTIS MANERIS.

In the lyfe and maneris of the ald Scottis schyned not that kynd of brautie<sup>4</sup> quhilke in thir dayes we se al natiounis craue. For this was thair maner of leiueng, and of this maner thair lyfe thay institute, that nathir war they seine diligate in thair table, nor ornat in thair cleithing, nor through melankolie or sturt<sup>5</sup> thair hart brokne, as wil appeir mair manifest of that quhilke followis.

THE ALD SCOTTIS MANERIS AND PRESENT LYKWYSE,  
CHEIFLIE OF THAME QUHA OCCUPIES THE MOUNTANIS  
CALLED HEBRIDES.<sup>6</sup>

The Scottis, to begin vpon a ryt ground,<sup>7</sup> quhithir it was in peace or weir, draue nocht ouer thair age<sup>8</sup> in curious cheir,<sup>9</sup> and thair lyfe in daintie and diligat disches, or in taisting fyne wines, and the sueitter dringes, as is the commoun

<sup>1</sup> Fleet. <sup>2</sup> Add. <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 49. <sup>4</sup> Luxurious elegance. <sup>5</sup> Passion.  
<sup>6</sup> The original is "the Mountains and the Hebrides." <sup>7</sup> To begin at the beginning. <sup>8</sup> The Latin is "ætatem suam triverunt," passed their lives. <sup>9</sup> Viands.



custome and consuetude ouer al: Bot thair kair and trayuel was hail<sup>1</sup> in this to sustein thayr bodyes commodiouslie and weil, of sik fude as thay mycht haue of the grunde, and thair thirst to slokne<sup>2</sup> wt herbes or, gif beir inlaikit,<sup>3</sup> wt sik drink as fountanes and wattir strandes gauē thame thay vset gladlie, and wt gude wil. Sum vset breid of ry, sum of quheit, sum of peise or beanes, bot not few of ates, as this or that ground gauē in gretter abundance. Grettest delyte thay had in oxin flesche, and in kyefleshe evin sa, and cheiflie quhen the blude was lattin<sup>4</sup> out at sum tymes the maist vset thame, because than thay war mair sappie and bettir than, to the nurishment of the body. Oxne, kye, scheip, or Gait gif sum tymes war in wanting, not only kaipounis,<sup>5</sup> pliuieris<sup>6</sup> and vtheris sik kynd of cheir vset thay, bot fishe, of qlke thay had in abundance, and of quhilkes thay had na smal vsse, thay satisfiet thair hungir sueitlie: Nocht be the day was lycht, nathir at noneday bot at evin only thay first prepared the table, and that verie scharpe and skairs,<sup>7</sup> quhen al thair lyfe nathing thay hated mair than gluttonie, assuiring thame selves that sik sobrietie in meit and drink and sik maner of fair and cheir war mair profitable athir to restore to thair health seik and waik, or quha war not seik and waik to make freshe and stark. Quhilke through lang experience and vsse thay had leired,<sup>8</sup> quhen amang thame war verie few seiknessis, bot of age al departed this lyfe; anaist amang thame continual battel. In weiris quhen thay yokit<sup>9</sup> the aduersar, thay invadet<sup>10</sup> athir wt ane arrow or a lance. Thay vsed ane twa edged sword lykwyse; the futmen a lang sword, the horsmen a schort sword bot baith vset a verie braid sword, with a scheiring sharpe edge that at the first straik, wt litle force, it walde scheir a man in twa in the waste or midle. Thay war harnest with jacks<sup>11</sup> al wouen through wt yrne huikes, quhilkes habbirgeounis thay cal: This vpon, or as we say, abone a lathir cote, quhilke was na les stark than it was elegant, thay put on. Al thair harnesse was lycht, that gif thay fel in ony danger, the lychtlier thay mycht slip out of the handes of thair ennimies: for in swiftnes of fute, in quhilke thay walde ouirrin<sup>12</sup> the swoftest horse,

<sup>1</sup> Wholly. <sup>2</sup> Slake. <sup>3</sup> Were lacking. <sup>4</sup> Let. <sup>5</sup> Capons. <sup>6</sup> Plovers. <sup>7</sup> Simple and scanty. <sup>8</sup> Learned. <sup>9</sup> Closed with. <sup>10</sup> Attached. <sup>11</sup> Coats of armour. <sup>12</sup> Outrun.

quhither the way war lang & plane, or gif it war cumirsum<sup>1</sup> through hilis or hopes,<sup>2</sup> in sik swoftnes, I say, thay obtained gret prais, athir quhen the ennimie flies to follow, or quhen the ennimie persues to flie, and gif mister<sup>3</sup> be to declyne from perrel. Amang thame this was thair maner, the gretter of digrie and the nobiller of blude that ony of thame war, in the weiris he was formest, and gaue the first brasche<sup>4</sup> in the feild, and set first on the ennimie: and this he did to moue and inflame his cumpanie to stande stoutlie, & wtout feir to gang fordward. The men of weir through his exemple the scharplier walde sett vpon the ennimies, and thair awne bodyes sett for the body of thair capitane, and frome danger him defend, and frome al perrel of lyf him preserue. For as we said afoir, thair prince or capitane, yea naturallie, as it war thay helde in sik reuerence, that for thair cause or at thair command, thay walde venture thair awne lyfe to quhatsaevir danger or death albeit nevir sa bittir. Thay war not now vphaldne<sup>5</sup> to the weiris on the King's waiges, bot nurissed and brocht vp in the hous, and thair sustentatione to the feild was brocht out of the hous; quhilk thay vset sa moderatlie and wt sik sobrietie, that thay walde leid a lang lyfe frie frome al seiknes, with a verie smal portione of kitschine meit, buttir, milke, or cheis, mixed wt meil quhilke through souking<sup>6</sup> thay fed vpon.

Gif ony tyme thay had frie frome the weiris, that in peice thay mycht leue, thay spendit it nocht in ydlenes, or vanitie, and in ald wyfes fables, bot thay thocht best, to make the memberis of thair body mair firme, stable, and sure, and to fortifie thame selves, to spend that tyme in rinning, fenceng wt swordes in the barresse;<sup>7</sup> and in werstling:<sup>8</sup> and that with age thay mycht that natural courage and strainth in thame make mekle quicker and abler, the verie wylde beistes, with a dog & rinning, oft thay hunted; and thairfor verie oft ane another provoket<sup>9</sup> to the singular<sup>10</sup> combatt. Quhairof proceedit that the les they war gyuen to voluptuous and fleshlie pleisouris.

This maner of way they vset to bring vp thair bairnes. First to exercise thame in schoteng arrowis, neist in casteng

<sup>1</sup> Difficult. <sup>2</sup> Hollows. <sup>3</sup> Need. <sup>4</sup> Onset. <sup>5</sup> Maintained. <sup>6</sup> Sucking. <sup>7</sup> Lists. <sup>8</sup> Wrestling. <sup>9</sup> Challenged. <sup>10</sup> Single.

dartes, thaireftir in feiding horses, and prouoiking thame to rinn; and last in handling of waiponis exerce thame with all diligence to propone wnto thame famous & preclare<sup>1</sup> exemples of men of renoume, quhais futstepis thay mycht follow, the fade and inimitie<sup>2</sup> borne toward thair parents to instil in the hartes of thair barnes, that quhen thay cam to perfectione the scharplier thay mycht persue thame: albeit in this thay war worthie of al correctione, that thay war sa vehementlie sett to reuenge: for gif ony discorde or diskynndnes had fallin amang thame, was eftir nevir clein forghet, na nocht quhen thay war deid, quhen the barnes yit alyue nocht only war ennimies to the parentis, bot excepte thay gaue a manifest and ane euident sygne and takne of peace and luue, with a deidlie fade, hatred, and Invie, thay persekuted and persuet the hail stok and familie perteing to the sam parents, baith barnes, and oyes,<sup>3</sup> and sa this deidlie faid was nevir put in the buke of obliuione.

Thair cleithing was til necessitie, and nocht til decore, maist conuenient ay to the weiris; for thay al vset mantilis of ane forme, baith the Nobilitie and the commone people, excepte that the Nobilitie delyted mair in coloured claith & sindrie hewis, and thir mantilis war baith wyd and lang, notwithstanding about the bosum, quhair thay wald decentlie losin.<sup>4</sup> I can weil think thir same to be the kynd of cleithing quhilkes in ald tymes in latin war called Brachæ.<sup>5</sup> In thir only mantilis in the nyt seasone thay rowit<sup>6</sup> thame selves, and in thame sleipet sound: this was thair maner, and this day the hilande men, and thay of Irland weiris even siklyke, bot now thay vse ruch couirings, ane sorte to thair bed, another sorte to the Jornay conuenient. The rest of thair claithis was a schorte cote of woll, wt wyde and apne<sup>7</sup> sleiues, that the radier quhen thay walde thay myt schote or caste a darte, or ane arrow; breickis thay had verie slichte, and indeid mair to hyd thair memberis than for ony pompe or pryd, or to defend thame frome the calde was meit. Of linnine lykwyse thay maid wyd sarkis,<sup>8</sup> wt mony bosumis,<sup>9</sup> and wyde sleifes of negligence hinging doune evin to thair knies. Thir sarkis the mair potent amang thame vset to

<sup>1</sup> Illustrious. <sup>2</sup> Feud and enmity. <sup>3</sup> Grandchildren (*nepotes*). <sup>4</sup> Leave them in loose folds. <sup>5</sup> Breeches. <sup>6</sup> Rolled. <sup>7</sup> Open. <sup>8</sup> Shirts. <sup>9</sup> Folds.

smeir with saffroune, bot vthiris wt a certane fatnes, and this thay did to keip thame cleine frome al filthines. Nathing thay thocht worthier of counsel than to exercise thame selves continuallie in the sueit<sup>1</sup> of the Barresse,<sup>2</sup> or in siklyke ane exercise. In makeng thame, appeirit na kair or trauel neglected athir in arte or decore: as wt threid of silke, cheiflie greine or rid, al the partes of the sarke maist artificiouslie thay sewit.

Bot the cleithing of the women with thame was maist decent, for thair cotes war syd evin to the hanckleth,<sup>3</sup> wyd mantilis abone, or playdes all embroudiret, artificiouslie; bracelets about thair armes, iewalis about thair neck, broches hinging at thair halse,<sup>4</sup> baith cumlie and decent, and mekle to thair decore and outsett.<sup>5</sup> Bot that we pas nocht far frome the men, quhen al thair kair was to excel in glore of weirfair and victorie, thair labour and hail studie baith in peace and weir was ay sett thairto, gyueng thame selves, in a maner, haillie to that exercise.

Na men war les diligate than thay, les leichorous, and mair abhored voluptuous plesour, of quhilk by al that we haue said, this may be ane evident takne, that thair heid, young nor ald, thay neur couered in the nycht. Oft quhen thay restit, thair heid thay laid vpon the bair erth, or at leist vpon a greine turfe, or sum of the greiner bent<sup>6</sup> or raschis,<sup>7</sup> or than a groffe<sup>8</sup> seck<sup>9</sup> spred vndir thame. Albeit thay regairdet not mekle diligate cheir, and daintie dishis sik as kitchines prepares, nochtwithstandeng prudentlie thay fand out a new diuice and maner of kuiking, quhairthrouch verie esilie thair fleshe was sodne, and sa weil that neur bettir. For cheiflie in tyme of weir quhen to the feildes to karie pottis, panis, and vthir kitchine veshels, thay thot hauie<sup>10</sup> and molestful, in place of potis and sik seithing vesselis, the painches<sup>11</sup> of ane ox or ane kow thay vset cheiflie. Gif necessitie vrge, this day thay take the hail meklewame<sup>12</sup> of ane slain ox, thay turne and dicht<sup>13</sup> it, thay fill it partlie with watir partlie with flesche, thay hing it in the cruik or a sting,<sup>14</sup> eftir the maner of a pott, and sa thay kuik it verie commod-

<sup>1</sup> Sweat. <sup>2</sup> Lists. <sup>3</sup> Hanging down as far as the ankle. <sup>4</sup> Neck. <sup>5</sup> Ornament. <sup>6</sup> Coarse grass. <sup>7</sup> Rushes. <sup>8</sup> Coarse. <sup>9</sup> Sack. <sup>10</sup> Heavy. <sup>11</sup> Paunches. <sup>12</sup> Stomach. <sup>13</sup> Prepare, dress. <sup>14</sup> Pole.



iouslie vpon the fyre. In quhilke kynd of seithing, is another vtilitie yit fruitfuller and mair commodious: that the brue<sup>1</sup> of this fleshe, the fatt remaineng stil, thay make of sik a sorte wt litle labour, bot wt gret ingine, that the best wine nor na vthir kynd of drink thay compare til it. Lykwyse of heipes of corne throuch the same ingine breid wil thay make quiklier eftir thair opinione nor vthirwyse. For thay thresche na stuf, bot with fyre thay singe it into the pile vpon the ground, quhen thay haue singet it, thay winnow it, quhen it is winnowit, thay grind it in a hand mil, quhilke properlie we cal the queirnis,<sup>2</sup> thaireftir thay sift it: frahand<sup>3</sup> thay make breid aftir casting it vpon the girdle, or than setting it til a stane, thay bake it at the harth, quhilke breid is nocht different far frome that breid, quhilke the ald fathers calles subcinericius, or bakne vnder the asse.<sup>4</sup>

Behaulde now the maneris, wt quhilkes the Scottis of ald war induct, bot quhy say I of ald? quhen thay, quha this day wt vs speik the ald scottis toung, planelie haue the selfe sam maneris. For quha this day ar, haue hithirto keipet the institutiounis of thair elderis sa constantlie, that nocht onlie mair than 2 thowsand yeirs thay haue keipet the toung hail vncorrupte; bot lykwyse the maner of cleithing and leiueng, that ald forme thay vnchanget aluterlie<sup>5</sup> haue keipet. In this sik a reuerend feir and dreid thay haue leist thay offend in things of honestie, that gif thair Princes, or of thair Nobilitie, visit the kingis court, thay aray thame selves of a courtlie maner, elegantlie, quhen thay returne to thayr cuntrey, casteng aff al courtlie decore, in al haist, thay cleith thame selves of thair cuntrey maner, excepte thay wil incur al manis danger<sup>6</sup> and hauie offence. Qukilke thing, in sa far, can nocht be laid as a faute to thame, that a certane singular prais of constancie thay appeir justlie to haue preueinet<sup>7</sup> al natiounis with; Thair constancie quhilke this day thay haue keipet, is not worthie of sobir and slicht prais, cheiflie that in the catholik religione far les thay defecte,<sup>8</sup> and far fewar than vthiris of the mair politick sorte amang vs. Ane peculiar and proper vice is amang thir men, and to thair commoun weil maist pestilent, that

<sup>1</sup> Broth. <sup>2</sup> Querns. <sup>3</sup> Straightway. <sup>4</sup> Ashes. <sup>5</sup> Completely. <sup>6</sup> Dislike (*odium*). <sup>7</sup> Excelled. <sup>8</sup> Abandon the church.



naturallie thay ar bent mair willinglie and vehementlie, gif thair maistir commande thame, to seditione and stryfe: than to be labourars of the ground or men of craft, thay had leur<sup>1</sup> be esteimed al nobilis, or at leist balde men of weir, albeit neuir sa pure thay war, than housband men, or honest men of crafte, albeit neuir sa riche. Of this cumis thair pryde and hichtines, and bosting of thair nobilitie; quhen sum writeris in thame noted sik vices thay spak no altogether raschlie.

In thir things we war the langer that the cleirlier we myt paynt thame out: the mair the baldnes of sum be in our loifing,<sup>2</sup> the mair may thair baldnes be tramped out malitiouslie. For quhen thay reid the ald Scottis, quhais futstepis thay yit follow in the hilandes of Scotland, was not elegant and ornat in thair cleithing, nor honest in thair maneris; quha, quhen as thay write sik wordes, thay accuse the hail scottis men, not considering that gif ane thing was not praisworthie in thame, or in ane sorte; mony things by that thay haue worthie of singular prais. Lykwyse gif ye behald another, yea and a far bettir parte of the Realme ye sal sune vnderstand thair to be a people, nocht only in tounge bot in habit, eftir the politik maner, and in conditiouns and maneris of ciuilitie thay differ far frome that vther people. For as in speiche thay differ not far frome thair nytbouris the Inglise men, in cleithing, evin sa, and leiueng thay differ nocht verie far frome thame of England, of France, and of Flandiris; albeit sum thing be in al thrie that nocht ane of thame fauouris, and that sum of thame fauouris. Bot as sum of thame quha inhabites the borders of Scotland toward England haue maneris frome the rest far different, sa in this place sum of thame I purpose to reherse schortlie.

#### THAIR MANERIS QUHA INHABITES THE BORDERIS OF SCOTLAND FORANENT INGLAND.

Through al the prouinces of Scotland, quhilkes ar vpon the bordouris foranent England takes to thame selves the grettest libertie and licence, quairthrough thay reioyse that

<sup>1</sup> Rather. <sup>2</sup> Praise.

vnpuniste ay thay chaipe.<sup>1</sup> Ffor quhen in tymes of weirs through inuasioun of ennimies daylie thay ar brot til extreime pouertie, in tyme of peace, the ground albeit fertil anuich feiring that schortlie the weiris oppresse thame, thay alutterlie contemne to tile.<sup>2</sup> Quhairthrough cumis to passe that be steiling and reif, thay rayer<sup>3</sup> seik thair meit, for fra scheduling of blude thay greitlie abhor; Nathir gyue thay mekle betuene, quhither the Scottis or the Inglesmen steil or reiue or dryue away prayis of horse, oxne, and scheip behind baks. Vpon fleshe, milk, and cheis, and sodne beir<sup>4</sup> or orgmount,<sup>5</sup> principallie thay lyue. Thay haue verie lytle vse of breid, evin as thay haue of gude beir, amaist na wine,<sup>6</sup> ye quhen baith ar present, thay ar seine in nouthir of thame to delyte mekle. Thair castelis and palices ar scheiphouses and luges,<sup>7</sup> quhilkes thay commonlie cal pailles,<sup>8</sup> of quhais burning thay ar nocht sair solist.<sup>9</sup> Bot thay far starker do make, four nuiked,<sup>10</sup> of earth only quhilke nathir can be burnte, nor wtout a gret force of men of weir, doune can be castne, or wtout sum trauel, with the sueit of thair browis, thir ar thair pailles.

Amang thame ar sum noble men of quhilkes sum takes na prayes<sup>11</sup> to thame selves appnelie, bot takne be ony vther, albeit he be na partaker, yit through silens he dissimilis, that the skry<sup>12</sup> spred nocht in braider, for thay ar verie war leist gif in tyme of peace thay schaw thame selves mair seueir than rasone requires, in tyme of weir thay find a recompence maid: vthiris agane, quha ar potent anuich, and studie to politik effairis, can nocht resist thame for al that, because thay haue ane ald consuetude of growing to that maner quhilke thay ar cum to, as it war another nature.

Bot gif the princes of the cuntrey cum against thame wt ane armie frome the king, as oft hes bene done, thay bot skorne thame. As thir rieferis through the nature of the place ar sa fenced about that gif out of thick wodis thay be chaist, to hich mountainis thay præpair,<sup>13</sup> gif out of mountainis

<sup>1</sup> Escape. <sup>2</sup> Till. <sup>3</sup> Rather. <sup>4</sup> Barley. <sup>5</sup> Cf. French *orge*, barley. <sup>6</sup> "When these were laid on the board, the wonder of the barbarians was greater than ever, since wine and white bread were sights they had never seen before."—Æneas Sylvius, *E. T.*, p. 28. <sup>7</sup> The equivalent for "scheiphouses and luges" in the original is "pyramidales turres." <sup>8</sup> Peels. <sup>9</sup> Distressed. <sup>10</sup> Cornered. <sup>11</sup> Prey. <sup>12</sup> Cry, report. <sup>13</sup> Repair.

thay be dung,<sup>1</sup> to the watir bankes of riueris and dubis<sup>2</sup> thay fie. Agane gif thay perceiue that frome that place thay mon fie, schortlie thair followers thay saidlie deceiue throuch certane difficile myres, quhilkes albeit thay be lyke medowis greine abone, and lyke fast yeard<sup>3</sup> appeir vndirneth, yit quhen a man entiris, thay sal gaip wyd, and swallie him vp in a maner to the deipth. Be thir sinkes<sup>4</sup> wil gang not only the Reiuers selves quha ar baith of a wondirful swoftnes and lychtnes, bot the horses in lyke maner thay vse to bow thair hochis<sup>5</sup> and to pase throuch mony partes, and lykwyse to pas ouer quhair our fote men skairse dar follow: and for this cause the horse thay dar nocht schoe wt yrne<sup>6</sup> schone. A filthie thing thay esteime it, and a verie abiecte man thay halde him that gangis vpon his fute ony voyage. Quhairthrouch cumis that al are horsemen; gif thairfor thay haue speidie horse and quhairwt thay may dresse<sup>7</sup> thame selves and thair wyfes, thay ar not mekle kairful for the rest of the houshalde geir.

Quhair as sum wrytes, scottis to eit menis flesche<sup>8</sup> haue had sik ane vsse, can to na vther be attrubutet bot to the same, nathir to thame al, but only to thame of Anandale: quha afor war called Ordouicks,<sup>9</sup> our wryters makes mentioune that thay war wonte to eit the fleshe of the captiues, quhome lykwyse thay blek<sup>10</sup> in another thing na les cruel: to wit, that the women war wonte to slay thair men with thair awne handes quhen frome the feild thay war cum hame ouircum be thair ennimies, as to be ouircum war a takne of cowardnes, quhilke in men thay thocht could be na deid mair mischieuous. Bot the alde crueltie of fewe sulde nocht be ascriuet to the hail Scottis natione. How mekle les that, quhilke thay cite out of S. Hierome, yt a Scottis-man was seine in France eit manis fleshe, albeit sum had the opinione that he was na Scot bot a Scythian; bot lykwyse gif it pleis thame til affirm that thay saw the Scottis eit rawe Salmonte, new drawen out of the flude, but athir bred or salte. Ffor our selves knawe a man and familiarlie we knawe him, wt vs famous anuich, to name Mongo Hog, quha quhen in his youth banist for a quhile lay hid neir a

<sup>1</sup> Driven. <sup>2</sup> Marshes (*paludes*). <sup>3</sup> Earth. <sup>4</sup> Quagmires. <sup>5</sup> Houghs. <sup>6</sup> Iron. <sup>7</sup> Adorn. <sup>8</sup> See above, p. 55. <sup>9</sup> Ordovices. <sup>10</sup> Defame.

watir syd that na man wist of him, qr na meit he culde find, alutterlie nathing; seing him self in sandie furdes, through the arte that first he leired, eisilie can take Salmond: to be schorte, he tuke thame, he eit thame rawe, and wt sik a consuetud of eiting at last he was confirmed, that quhen he was ane alde man, without ony horroure, quhilke al tuik that sawe him, als mekle salmond of this same sorte he walde eit rawe as mony vthiris mycht thoch weil sodin, and gladlie walde he eit it in presens of famous persounis quha walde nocht beleue it; bot in thair presens oft hes he beine seine do it. Behauld how vrgent is necessitie, in distres; and how consuetude is als potent as another nature.

Bot I returne agane to our bordir men, in quhome sum things ar seine nocht verie meikle not to thair prais,<sup>1</sup> sum things agane rare, sum things finalie meruellous. Ffor quhen thay spoyle behind backes al thair nyctbouris feildes, thay intend thairby to seik thair leiueng, nocht-wtstandeng thay ar war with al possible diligens that thay sched nocht thair blude quha ar in thair contrare. For thay ar persuadet that all the gudes of al men in tyme of necessitie, be the lawe of nature, ar commoun to thame & vthiris: bot slauchtir and sik iniures be the lawe of God forbidne. Bot gif thay commit ony voluntarie slauchtir, to be maist in reuenge of sum iniure; and cheiflie for the slauchtir of sum cosing<sup>2</sup> or freind to sum man. Fra quhilke thay wil nocht absteine, thoch the lawes of the Realme commandet: quhairof rysces deidlie feid, nocht of ane in ane, or few in few, bot of thame ilk ane and al quha ar of that familie stock or tribe, how ignorant sa evir thay be of the iniure. This pest albeit it be commoun to the hail Realme and a greuous calamitie, to thir nochtwithstandeng it is cheiflie proper.<sup>3</sup>

Lat this mairouer be eiket<sup>4</sup> to thair first vertue that quhomto ance thay gyue thair faith, thoch til ane ennemie it be, thay keip it maist surelie, in sa far that quha ance brek his faith nathing is thocht mair vngracious than he. Bot gif ony amang thame be fund giltie of sik a crime, he quha suffiris the iniure vses, or sum in his name, in a

<sup>1</sup> Which are much to their praise. <sup>2</sup> Relative (*cognatus*). <sup>3</sup> Peculiar. <sup>4</sup> Added.

solemne conuentioun, quhen present to mend and bind vp al materis on baith the handes ar baith the warderis of the bordiris,—eftir this maner thay vse, I say, to put a gluee<sup>1</sup> vpon the poynte of ane speir in exprobratione<sup>2</sup> and schame of him quha crakit his credence,<sup>3</sup> rydeng of sik a maner through al the people, schaweng it out; na infamie is compared to this, his companiouns wissis oft that God take him out of this lyfe be ane honest deith. Nathir haue thay, notwithstanding, now vanelie fallin frome the faith of the Catholik Kirk, as mony vthiris haue done. Thay delyt mekle in thair awne musick and Harmonie in singing, quhilke of the actes of thair foirbearis thay haue leired, or quhat thame selfes haue inuented of ane ingenious policie to dryue a pray and say thair prayeris. The policie of dryueng a pray thay think be sa leiuessum<sup>4</sup> and lawful to thame that neuir sa feruentlie thay say thair prayeris, and pray thair Beides, quhilkes rosarie we cal, nor with sick solicitude and kair as oft quhen thay haue xl or l myles to dryue a pray.

In the nycht seassone be troupis thay take mony by-gates;<sup>5</sup> in the daytyme thay ly hidd in secrete places afore appoynted to that end, and thair thay recreate and refreshe thame selfes and the horses, quhil be nycht thay may cum quhair thay walde be. Fra ance thay take the pray, be boutgates<sup>6</sup> alanerlie<sup>7</sup> & bygates and the nyt seassone thay cum quhair thay walde be. Be thir places of wildernes, bygates, kraigs, and glenis the perfyter<sup>8</sup> that ane amang thame is, the mair he is maid of, and in the gretter honour is he halden, as a man of ane excellent ingine: and thay are of sik subtilitie, that verie sindle<sup>9</sup> thay lat the pray be takne frome thame, excepte sluth-houndes be thair gyd and follow thair fute rycht, than sumtymes chances that be thair aduersares thay may wante the pray.

Finalie, gif thay be takne, thay ar sa eloquent, & sa mony fair and suet wordes thay can gyue, that thay moue the Juges ye and thair aduersaries how seueir saeuir<sup>10</sup> thay be, gif nocht to pitie at leist to woundir vehementlie. Bot because perchance our orisone<sup>11</sup> hes bene langre of thir twa

<sup>1</sup> Glove. <sup>2</sup> Reproach. <sup>3</sup> Broke his faith. <sup>4</sup> Permissible. <sup>5</sup> Bypaths. <sup>6</sup> Circuitous paths. <sup>7</sup> Only. <sup>8</sup> Better acquainted. <sup>9</sup> Seldom. <sup>10</sup> However severe. <sup>11</sup> Speech, discourse.



peoples than of sum hes bene desyret, quhat of the rest of the peples of the land we ar about to say, we sall cutt schorter, because thair maneris differis noch verie far frome thair nychtbouris, chieflie thame quha ar maist politick and decent<sup>1</sup> in maniris.

THE MANERIS OE THE RESTE OF THE PEPLE OF THE  
LANDE HEIR FOLLOW.

About now to speik of the rest of the people of Scotland, at the nobilitie we wil begin. The nobilmen had leur<sup>2</sup> duel in the feildes, quhair nocht only ar palices bot castelis of strenth and touris,<sup>3</sup> quhilkes ilk hes conforme to his substance; heir I say had thay leur duel than in the tounes. Gret families thay feid, and that perpetuallie, pairtlie to defend thame selves frome thair nychtbouris, with quhome oft thay haue deidlie fead, partlie to defend the Realme. With glade wil and frilie thay vse to luge<sup>4</sup> kin, freind, and acquaintance, ye and strangers that turnes in to thame. A scelandirous thing thay esteime it to be to deny this, and a poynt of smal or na liberalitie. This was the cause that quhen strangeris haue not bene far cum frome the sey syd, thay haue funde commoun Lugengs, nathir verie magnifike, bot few.<sup>5</sup>

Our tounes we fortifie nocht wt walis,<sup>6</sup> bot first the bordiris of the Realme, thaireftir the feildes, quhen mister<sup>7</sup> is, thay fence about and defend, wt the force of thair body, and armour, accordeng to the lawis of thair elderis. Ffor of this ar thay nocht a litle war,<sup>8</sup> that thay depend not vpon the securitie of ony tounis quhairthrow thay may lang deid or slawe<sup>9</sup> frome thair waipounis ly; nathir that we mak ony sik fortres against the ennemie wtin the Realme. Quhen ance thay cum in sicht of the ennemie, thay stand nochte vpon a delyuirance,<sup>10</sup> bot thay rusche fordward with al thair force vpon the ennemie, nathir through fraud and gyle, bot

<sup>1</sup> Polished. <sup>2</sup> Rather. <sup>3</sup> The "Good Lord James" Douglas, therefore, expressed the feeling of his class when he said he loved better to hear the lark sing than the mouse squeak. <sup>4</sup> Lodge. <sup>5</sup> Leslie may have had Æneas Sylvius's account of Scotland in his mind when he wrote this sentence. <sup>6</sup> See above, p. 43. <sup>7</sup> Need. <sup>8</sup> Aware. <sup>9</sup> Inactive and torpid. <sup>10</sup> The meaning of the original is that they do not stay to deliberate.

strenth and armes thay handle the mater sa that quhen the armie is in sicht, the space of thrie dayes thay byd nocht vnbrachte<sup>1</sup> with vs. Bot quhen thay sett vpon the ennemie they keip nocht the commoun discipline of the weiris, bot how sune the worde is said thay pas in ordour, following thair maistiris, or cheif of thair hous and thair anseinye,<sup>2</sup> quhair ilk ane contendis to do quhat lyes in his power, and for his honour scharplie to stryue. To him is attributed the first honour cheiflie, quha gyues athir the first straik or the last; gif in battel he flie he is ouircum. Quhairthrouch oft cumis,<sup>3</sup> that wt a smal cumpanie against a gret thay fecht wt gretter felicitie & succes than quhen baith the parties ar alyke in numbir, gif the armie on baith the handes be of a gret numbir.

Mairouer the hail people, nocht onlie the Nobilitie because thay fecht vpon thair awne purse, enioy a gret freedome and libertie; quhairof cumis that vndiscrete consuetude, vndiscrete maneris, that pride, and bosting of thair nobilitie, quhilkes as we haue said, al obiectes to vs. Nathir aluttirilie is it false that nocht few wryteris exprobatis<sup>4</sup> to thame, thair our haistines, and ouer bent to reuenge.

Gretlie thay take plesure in the wichtnes<sup>5</sup> of thair bodie, in safar that quhat may be done throuch arte & slycht oft thay neglecte: vthiris ascriue vnto our people subtiltie of ingine, and plesure in the arguments of the arte of dialectik.<sup>6</sup> How euir it be, we knawe this, that afortymes thay vset to delyte in the studie of philosophie: and now lykwyse to be curious anuich obserueris of al externe policie, for as doctrine and leirning now lang hes our myndes manured<sup>7</sup> and vndirstandengs, elegancie hes policed our maners, and counsel wt the vertue of our elderis haue sa confirmed our Realme and commoun welth, that thay ar knawen esilie to follow vthiris natiouns in al kynd of gude, and in a maner equal wt thame to be: quhilkes that rathir thay appeir nocht to be spokne of a vane ostentatione, than of the veritie, befor your eyne sal we sett the forme of the commoun welthe.

<sup>1</sup> Unattacked. <sup>2</sup> Ensigns. <sup>3</sup> Happens. <sup>4</sup> Reproaches. <sup>5</sup> Strength. <sup>6</sup> Leslie had probably in his mind a well-known passage in Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*, pp. 10, 12 (Edit. Basil. 1676), where it is noted that the Scots take special delight in dialectic subtleties, <sup>7</sup> Cultivated.

Quhen euerie commoun weill, that evir flourishid, quhethir in our dayes or in our elderis dayes, is conteinet in certane ordours, lawis, and magistrates: I seuerallie sal twoche thir, that in our people may be seine to want nathing that serues til a perfyte commoun weill.

#### HOW MANY ORDOURIS OF THE REALME AND COMMOUNE WEILL.

The Scottis peple is deuydet in thrie ordouris; ane of thame, quhais pietie and hett<sup>1</sup> studie of religionne hes addicted thame selfes planellie to serue the Kirke: The secunde of thame, quhais nobilitie and hines<sup>2</sup> of blude hes placed in the secunde digrie of the commoun weill; the thrid of thame, quhome the tounes accenawleges amang thame to be frank and frie. Of quhilkes seuerallie I wil speik, that the Ecclesiastical ordour may haue the first place, first for the authoritie, quhairthrousch sche excellis the rest, and than for a certane diuine power geyen vnto her. Of the Ecclesiastike state I wil first speik, and trulie in fauour of the simpiller sorte, I may vse mæ wordes than vthirwyse this place requirret, because that maist haly ordour throusch ignorance of wicked men or rathir thair maliciousnes is sa vehementlie wraket<sup>3</sup> and brocht to nocht with vs.

#### THE ECCLESIASTICAL ESTATE.

In administratioun of the Kirk schynes thrie digries by the rest, in that ordour, to wit, Bischopes, Priests, and Religious. Ffor quhen al forme of doeng or keiping ordour may aluttirlye decay, excepte it depend vpon the superioritie of ane or mony, Bischopes ar ordanet, quha obtieneng the first place, walde appoynt certane lawis, in a maner, to the rest, of pietie, modestie, temperance, and of al vertues. Bot seing of Bischopes ar sa few, that on fute thay can nocht throusch al places gang, nathir al menis maniris can thair eyne sie, nathir only can thay vse al the offices of thair authoritie; thairfor ar eikit to thame priestes, quha may to the lai peple betuene dorpe<sup>4</sup> and dorpe, and tounne and tounne minister the blis Sacrament, and feid thame wt the pure and sinceir lycht of the Religionne. To thame for thair

<sup>1</sup> Zealous. <sup>2</sup> Highness. <sup>3</sup> Wrecked. <sup>4</sup> Village.

trauel publiklie is ordayned thair sustentatione, steddings<sup>1</sup> directed, houses appoynted.

Bot quhen God saw wt that scharpe sychte quhairwt he al things sies, that preistes eftir certane yeiris, and wtin proces of tyme, sould gyue thame selfes ouer to vice, and vicious leiueng, to couetousnes, and gaiping eftir ryches, in the mein tyme thair office cleine abiecte, wt his gude spirit sum he inflamet, quha sulde gyue ouer the warlde, and al cogitatione of money or gathiring riches, sulde lay asyd, and sulde follow a certane seueir way and maner of leiueng market with the fustestepis of Christe and his Apostles, wtin the boundes of the monester, and through thair exemple of lyfe, and doctrine sulde informe the people to pietie; finallie quha, through thair prayng, walkeng, fasting, and vthires godlie actions of that sorte, mycht inclyne Christe to mercie, and moue him to put the sinis of the people in perpetual obliuione, nevir to haue eftirward remembrance of thame. In quhilkes thrie ecclesiastical digries sum tyme sa our cuntrey florishet, that in the Bischopes of Scotland was fund sik liberalitie, as wt few was fund, in the preistes evin sik diligence, and in the religious euin sik pietie. Quhairthrowe proceedit, that quhen the king, the nobilitie, and the commoune people thay wt gret vtilities had amplified, in correcteng abhominable offences in flagitious persounes, in confirmeng the gude, and wt sik labour in feiding the poore, the king, the nobilitie, and the commoune people enduet thame agane wt gret leiuengs, landes, and priueleges, that quha in gret pouertie vset to distribute largelie to monie, mycht in gret abundance be beneficial toward al: quhilke wt gret vtilitie of al thay al did, quhen Bischopes houses, Priestes houses, and Religious places war to al men patent<sup>2</sup> lyk certane commoune lugengs, and lyke certane buithes<sup>3</sup> of humanitie, of pietie, and discipline war halden and esteimed. Ffor to be schorte wt the rest, this prais hes bene celebrate in al ages amang the Bischopes, that in thair houses the noble menis sones thay oft fed, instructed, and brocht vpe, and now<sup>4</sup> young men, mariet thame furth, and put thame in steddings. Farther quhilke baith oft at vthir tymes is done, than cheiffie in tyme of

<sup>1</sup> Farms (*praedia*). <sup>2</sup> Open. <sup>3</sup> Training schools. <sup>4</sup> When grown to be.

Parleament quhen present ar al the thrie ordouris, to the special nobilitie thay make appne<sup>1</sup> houses. Because yt euerie nobil man, neir<sup>2</sup> to the Bischope, sa he turnet in to the Bischope's lugeng cheiffie, and sa lang as the parleament lay, wt him he rested; quhilke surelie is worthie of the gretter prais, the fewar that the Bischopes ar to receiue sa copious a multitude of nobiles. Ffor only ar twa Archiebischopes, ane of S. Androis, and of Glasgwe ane, quhilkes in Scotland ar haldne the first, bot S. Andro formest, in quhais Diocie ar contained 8 Bischopries, Dunkeld, Aberdyne, Moray, Dunblane, Brechine, Rosse, Cathneis, Orknay. In the diosie of Glasgow onlie 3, S. Ninians, Lismore, and Sodore, quhais sait was in the Ile of Man. In general assemblies, quhair ar called the thrie ordouris of the Realme, for counsel in sindrie effairis, or makeng of statutes or lawes, baith Abbotes and sum vthiris Kirkmen haue thair votes with the Bischopes.

In thir lattir dayes is sa cum to pas, through the counsel of Kings, and the Nobilitie, that al Bischopries, the gretter kirk leiuengs, and the fatter Benifices, ar al amaist distributed cheiffie to nobil menis sones, quhome thay think maist able to supplie that office: to wit, quha appeiris to be enduet wt the best jugement, and to haue the counsel maist cunning, cumlie, and cannie,<sup>3</sup> and worthiest authoritie to serue his charge, and gif he be feckful,<sup>4</sup> and haue grace to correcte maneris in wicked persones, sa that the commendatione of Justice may be impute to him. Sum of thir quhen in the effaires of the commoun weil thay happilie and weil all thair trauel and gudes quhat thay possessit had wairit,<sup>5</sup> thay exceled in mony honouris, and maist illustir in the commoun weil, wt consent of al the thrie estates. For thay, as tyme serueth, war than promouet to the cheif charges of the Realme, and principal offices in the Repub. as to the Chanciller, Thesaurer, and to haue sik vthires ample dignities in the land as quhen wt gret honour and prais thay haue put til executione the charge<sup>6</sup> of ane ambassador in Ingland or France. Bot quhen now in wardlie effairis thay war sa feltired,<sup>7</sup> and vthiris in the meine tyme leiueth<sup>8</sup> sa liberallie,

<sup>1</sup> Open. <sup>2</sup> Related. <sup>3</sup> Becoming and prudent. <sup>4</sup> Wealthy and powerful.

<sup>5</sup> Spent. <sup>6</sup> Executed the functions. <sup>7</sup> Entangled. <sup>8</sup> Lived.



forgetting planelie yr office and service ecclesiastical, that same thrid estate sa sair thay inuyed,<sup>1</sup> that now mischieuous persounes feir nathing to rail out against that estait, and quhat thay can, sklander and bakbyte.

Of the rest of the ecclesiastical preistes, and Religious quhat may be thocht? quhome albeit the heretiks blaspheme and say thay war al vicious and hipocrites, war notwithstanding in baith the digries, I may say trulie, certane lamps of pietie and halynes. And surlie to speik sinceirlye wtout invie quhat the truthe is, the hail Clergie, ye in the verie tyme quhen wt ws the Religioune was de kayet, war of a notable grautie, and of a certane liberal honestie, euerie man accordeng to the place he remaned in, and the benifice quhairon he was susteined, that in few things it was to ony vthir natione, evin than, inferiour: Insafar that na tyme sulde ye evir se a wandiring, beging, or a ragit<sup>2</sup> preist. Nochtheles mony was seik of ane vice; to wit, immoderat libertie of lyfe: and of ane vthir vice, almaist al, ower rekles negligence in preicheng the worde of God.<sup>3</sup> Bot our elderis war nocht sa, frome quhais integritie of lyfe albeit we haue declyned, yit neur frome the faith and Religioune. Flurished, and sumtyme outsprang frome thir generatiouns, as frome a certane cœlestial Hierusalem, mony men excellent in the commendatione and gude reporte of leirning & virtue, quha wattired the knottis and gairdins<sup>4</sup> of Scotland, Ingland, France, and Germanie, wt the fountanes of thair Ingines, in quhome, we passing by the rest, war Amphibalie, Palladie; Rule; Amphibalie<sup>5</sup> in the Ile of man was first Bischope: Be al manis speiking the apostle of Scotland is Palladie: S. Rule maid Scotland of nobilitie and renowne, quhen wt the reliques of S. Andro he decoret it, quhilkes out of Grece he brocht; and than S. Mungo, Ninian, Fiacre,<sup>6</sup> Connan,<sup>7</sup> Aidan, Colman,<sup>8</sup> Finnan, Boniface the apostle of Germanie, and

<sup>1</sup> Envied. <sup>2</sup> Ragged. <sup>3</sup> This was one of the main charges brought against the ancient church by Knox and his followers. <sup>4</sup> Enclosed grounds. <sup>5</sup> Amphibalus was driven to Britain by the persecutions of Diocletian. His day is the 22nd of June. <sup>6</sup> An Irish-Celtic saint of the 7th century. His name is preserved in *fiacre*, a hackney-carriage. <sup>7</sup> Bishop of Sodor and Man in the 7th century. <sup>8</sup> St Colman of Lindisfarne. He represented the Scottish party in the Council at Whitby (664) that met to settle the Easter controversy.

agane, Kiliane,<sup>1</sup> Leuine,<sup>2</sup> Rumolde,<sup>3</sup> Abbat Gal<sup>4</sup> lykwyse, & that diuine Poete of sik fame and renowne, and exeme<sup>5</sup> Theolog, Sedulius,<sup>6</sup> latting innumerable passe by vthiris, athir writne in the diuine number,<sup>7</sup> or for thair singular virtue and halynes of lyfe, mekle commended baith at hame and afeild.<sup>8</sup> Nathir was hithirto ony age yit seine sen Scotland was illuminat wt the lycht of Criste Jesus, in quhilke florished not few singular persounis of excellent vertue, and doctrine, of quhilkes, in thair awne place, sum thing twoche we sal schortlie. Bot (allace) now wod<sup>9</sup> hæresie occupies al baith in lenth and bredthe, and sa hich a maiestie, of sa hevinlie ane ordour in Scotland hes remouet, that power hes put asyd, & that honour hes dishonoured: bot sal I gar<sup>10</sup> this wound sa gret bleid agane? sal I rub vpe this aulde sair? and renew this greif appeiringlie almaist forgottin? I wil nocht do it, that I rathir steir nocht vp than mitigat the displeisour and auld rancour of the furious hæretiks against the Catholiks. For it lyes not in the prayer of man bot in the power of God is put a certane secreit and sure maner of medicine to be applyed to this Ill, quhilke we hope he sal adhibite or it be lang, cheiffie quhen this day ar verie mony of Scotland decored wt al vertues and inflamed wt the pure and sincere luue of the rycht Religione, quha through thair exile, quhilke for the luue of Christe thay willinglie haue accepted, and through thair prayers, quhilkes ydenly<sup>11</sup> wt al diligence thay sched for thair cuntrey, appeir to mitigat the ire of God and pacifie his angre toward ws wt tyme. The godlie memorie of the dignitie of our auld Bischopes mouet vs in this place to speik this farr.

<sup>1</sup> Killian or Quillian, said to have been a disciple of St Columbanus, flourished in the 7th century. <sup>2</sup> This may be Lewinna, a legendary martyr of Britain who flourished in the 7th century. <sup>3</sup> According to one legend, Bishop of Dublin; according to another, Bishop of Dunblane. He is said to have flourished in the 8th century. <sup>4</sup> Gallus, the "apostle of Switzerland," flourished in the 7th century. <sup>5</sup> Illustrious. <sup>6</sup> Lesley confounds Sedulius the younger with Sedulius the poet, author of the *Carmen Paschale*. It may be said that in the case of most of these saints Leslie had no right to claim them as Scots. <sup>7</sup> The original is "in Divorum album relatos." <sup>8</sup> Abroad. <sup>9</sup> Mad. <sup>10</sup> Make, cause. <sup>11</sup> Zealously.

## OF THE ESTAT OF THE NOBILITIE.

Seing na Republik or commounweil euir yit flurished that contemned the Nobilitie, Scotland sa honoured thame that it thocht the cheifest parte of the Republ. to consist of thame and a sueit<sup>1</sup> succour to the commoun weil. Quhilke opinioun trulie was nocht of smal effecte to keip the Scottis-men frome cumbiring<sup>2</sup> thair commoun weil, quhome vthirwyse a certane ingendired curage, in a maner, of the mynd, mycht eisilie inflame to truble hail the Republik, gif the king leiuet intemperantlie, and by the boundes of his office. Of this may ony man esilie collecte in our people yit to be a certane forme of Repub. Eftir that forme, in latine Democratia, yt is a forme of commoun weil quhair the people haue the hail authoritie wtout ony vthir state, notwithstanding with vs, eftir that maner nocht aluterlie sa, bot wt sik temperance,<sup>3</sup> that cheif vpon thair king and counsel maist graue of the nobilitie, the Repub. does depend: of this cumis that the kings quhais tyrannie turnet the hartes of the Nobilitie frome thame, oft incurit lykwyse the offence of the people; and the kings agane quhais vertue wann the hartes of the Nobilitie perceiuet evin sa ane incredible beneuolence of the people, through this alienatione of the Nobilitie and people frome the king, sum tymes is mentione maid of the king's slauchtir. Nathir cam this manir of Nobilitie to Scotland wt thame quha now inhabites the land, bot with thame rathir grew vp quha first inhabited Scotland. Ffor in the first rudiments of our commoun weil and instructions,<sup>4</sup> quhen sum barbaritie was yit in the land, we reid how they elected certane capitanis borne of ane illustir hous, to quhome thame selves and thair Republik thay committed to gyde. Bot now far vthirwyse is the state of Nobilitie: for sa in partes it is diuidet, that the king, and his sones lawfullie gottin, obtaine the first place, of quhilkes, gif be ma than ane, the eldest prince of Scotland; the rest absolutlie ar called princes, quha indeid al and sindrie ar haldne in highest digrie, and worthilie, because thay ar sa neir vpspring of the kingis blude: the second place obtaines

<sup>1</sup> Sweet. <sup>2</sup> Troubling. <sup>3</sup> Moderation. <sup>4</sup> Institutions.

Dukes:<sup>1</sup> the thrid my lordes: the fourt thir nobilis quha wt vthiris natiouns out of our Ile ar nocht fund. This name "my Lord" appeires til vs in it sa gret dignitie to conteine, that for honouris cause we gyue it evin sa to Bischopes, Erles, and to thame quha ar hie magistrats and in cheif honour. The fyfte place occupie thay quhome lairdes and barounis we call. In distributione of thir titles of nobilitie this ordour is obseruet, that he haue nocht the title of a Duke quha had not first of ane erle, nathir of ane Erle, quha first had nocht the title of a larde or Baroun. Now in the 6 place ar put thay, and last of al quha ar induet wt na certane title of honour, quhome in our language we cal gentle men. Of this estimatione ar thay, because thay ar of sum nobil hous, the brethir and the younger sones of Erles, Lordes, and Knichtes; na digrie of Nobilite makes noble excepte thair birth, that of a nobil hous thay ar borne. Ffor in na parte of thair fathiris heritage may thir succeid: bot the eldest sone possessis al, conforme to our lawis this is done that the hous decay nocht, and surname as we cal it throuhout al generatiouns. This title the people gyues al that ar rich & quha ar large and liberal, or quha haue sik a name. Fra thir and vpon thame cheiffie dependes the hail charge and authoritie; and lykwyse lysis the hail burdine of the weiris. For quhen thay think of quhat hous thay ar cum, with gret baldness and courage thay set stoutlie onn, doubting<sup>2</sup> na danger, yt thay may schawe thame selves worthie of the hous thay ar cum off, and in safar that thay wt sum illustre and notable acte may decore thair hous. The opinione of sum is, the title of gentlemen this way to haue sprung vp, that the Romanis quhen sum natioue thay had subduet, to sum thay gaue lande, money, priueleges, and mony vthiris rewardes, that thay duelling in the marches and bordouris of that land mycht defend that natioue frome the force of the ennemie and spoiling. Thir the Romanes called Gentiles:<sup>3</sup> we eftir thame, conforme to thair imitatione, Gentilmen. The hail nobilitie, yea the scottis ane and al, in quhatsaeuir digrie or place thay be in ar bund of that necessitie, that

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 102. <sup>2</sup> Fearing. <sup>3</sup> "*Gentiles sunt, qui inter se eodem nomine sunt, qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt, quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit, qui capite non sunt deminuti.*"—Cicero, *Top.*, 6. 29.

gif the weiris be vrgent thay susteine the kingis weiris vpon thair awne charges : nethir for al that ar thay thoct or sulde be esteimed to fecht to the king for nocht ; quhen<sup>1</sup> thay ar frie of al custumes, wt quhilkes ar opprest the subiectes of vthiris princes, and lykwyse ar induet with diuerse vthiris priuileges be the king, of his benignitie : first of al vpon this conditione, that gif the king command, with ane armie thay passe in haist against the ennemie, vpon thair awne purse. In quhilke nocht onlie consistes a singular vtilitie<sup>2</sup> of the people, bot also a principal abundance and welth of the king is includet. Nathir say I this to gyue ony occasione to suspecte that our king wantes his yeirlye rentis (quhen in abundance he hes of yeirlye rentis, quhairvpon he royallie may susteine his court, and vphalde the magnifik persone of a king), bot to lat thame vndirstand that the welth of our king may be weil compaired wt the puissance of golde and siluir : and surlye for the cause for-said, that al yeirlye rentis, how abundant sa evir, he may esteime nathing, nathir neides he, quhen all his people wtout money, quhilke vthiris callis the Strenth and force of the weiris, at the king's commande flies til armes contrare the aduersar.

This farther may be consideret, our king nevir to that fine<sup>3</sup> at ony tyme to haue beine brocht, that he walde want, by that, men of weir, notwithstanding vpon his awne charges. For the people serues maist to this vse, to brek the first bront<sup>4</sup> of the battel, quha concuris suner than is luket for, as is the slokning out of a certane commoune flame of burneng.<sup>5</sup> This hes the bordouris of our Realme, defendet against sa mony strang ennimies now sa mony hundir yeiris, testified cleir anuich : bot perchance through delyte of the mater in the selfe sa singular, we be paste farther than far anuich. Lat vs thairfor returne to the Gentilmen quha (to twoche schortlie) presentlie ar al in courtlier apparel, and thair table mair diligit and dilitious than graue men athir vses to approue or commend, or quhat thay haue to leiuie vpon is able to susteine : our natione frome the nerrest

<sup>1</sup> Since. <sup>2</sup> Advantage. <sup>3</sup> End. <sup>4</sup> Brunt. <sup>5</sup> The meaning is that the common people rush to battle as eagerly as to extinguish the burning of any public property.



natiounis and nychtbours haue, to the gret skaith of our commoun weil, contracted this excesse of cleithing and feiding, as a certane peste maist contagious. Finalie of this ar we surlie persuadet, that our Gentilmen with ony nychtbour natione may weil stryue in elegancie of maneris. The maner now and ordour of the Nobilitie being descriuet, followis that we lykwyse explicat the thrid estate in few wordes, to wit, the commoun people.

#### THE ORDOUR AND ESTAIT OF THE COMMOUNE PEOPLE.

Quha euir first laid the first foundatiouns of cities, appeir to this end to haue laid thame; athir that the immortalitie of thair name war & sulde be to the vtilitie of man, as the Ethnicks,<sup>1</sup> or wt the vtilitie of man, to the glore of God, as the Christianis. Quhilke quhen thay thocht, na way thay culd bettir do than to gar thair cities abunde in people, thay drewe to thair cities, through mony priuileges, people in abundance: quhome thay called commoun or lai people, gif thay war vndir the digrie of gentilmen. The commoun people in thrie sortes may be diuydet: the first ar thay quha, through the weiris, in quhilkes hes bene thair conuersatione;<sup>2</sup> or through lettiris, to quhilkes thay haue applyet thair studie; or through money, quhilke through thair industrie thay haue gathired, or frome thair parents receiuet; or sum vthir way, obtaines the place of the principal citizens in the toun. Thay indeid of quhome we haue mony, ar maist of the nobilitie: for, as said is, quhen sa our lawis provydes that the eldest succeides, the youngest ar put to sum honest schift,<sup>3</sup> quhairthrough thay may leid a lyfe not allutterlie abiecte. Of this cumis that sa mony of our cuntrey men haue sa gude succes, amang strange natiouns, sum in the Weiris, sum in professing of sciences, and sum in merchandise. The secund sorte ar thay quha studie to merchandise, and of that kynd to honest craftes, quhais beginning<sup>4</sup> being obskure, or nocht perfytlie and cleir anuich notified to al men through thair industrie, and diligence, thay oft obtaine that for thair gret welth & abundance thay susteine the persone of honest sitizenis. For merchandise,

<sup>1</sup> Heathen. <sup>2</sup> Training. <sup>3</sup> Pursuit. <sup>4</sup> Origin.

indeid, as wt ws it is proffitable, sa is it honest, and surlie to the Repub. verie necessare : quhen mony merchandes causes thair sones to be instructed in the liberal sciences that eftirward thay ar sik instruments in the commoun weill that thair labour is baith to the gret Joy and honour of thair parents ; for athir ar thay preistes serueng the kirk ; or men of law to plie<sup>1</sup> a cause, or men of weir to fecht. For thair (as be experiens we se daylie) in weirfair cheiflie is done, quhais myndes deip and præclair<sup>2</sup> studies hes decored, polished, dekid and vptrimid.<sup>3</sup> The thrid sorte of the commoun people ar thay quha numberit ar in the laichest digrie.<sup>4</sup> Amang thame ar al craftes rekned throuch another ;<sup>5</sup> without quhilkes na Repub. nocht only can florishe ; bot can nocht stand, we trulie may affirme. Chances that mony of this sorte, wt the giftes of nature meruellouslie being induct, throuch thair diligence, labour and Ingine, heipes vp abundance of money & riches. Nathir sulde ony mervel heirow, quhen na man quha leives bot midway temperat<sup>6</sup> in the tounes of Scotland is nocht sune rich, for the fridome foirsaid fra custum and vthiris priuileges that thay haue. Bot that the king thair hartes wt sum benefite may steir vp, and the hetlier<sup>7</sup> inflame thame, in danger to defend the commoun weill, he permitis, that in general parlements twa or thrie of thame be present, and sum tymes ma, gif the king pleise, out of euerie citie sa mony, cheiflie quha ar esteimet of the best Jugement, wisdom, and leirning : quhais dutie this is, of the materis proponed in the parlement frilie to gyue thair vote, and that thair sentence be correspondent to the sentence of the vthir twa estates of the Realme. For this cause sum think this to be done that gif in the general parlement ony thing wt our gret seueritie be decreited against the tounes, be thair sentence, as ane vniust institutione, may be reuoked. Finalie, al vthiris, quhither thay be of nobilitie, or of the commoun people, haue na authoritie in general parlements to gyue a vote, because vpon the estates of the Realme thay hail depend.

*Note.*—I am indebted to the kindness of Mr Harting,

<sup>1</sup> Plead. <sup>2</sup> Distinguished. <sup>3</sup> Adorned and refined. The meaning is that those succeed best in war who have received the best education. <sup>4</sup> Lowest rank. <sup>5</sup> Promiscuously. <sup>6</sup> Moderately. <sup>7</sup> More ardently.

Librarian of the Linnean Society, for the following notes regarding the dogs mentioned by Leslie at pages 123-4;— The first from one part of the description might seem to be the old Scottish deer-hound; but the size assigned to it shows that it was more probably the Great German boarhound, also known as the Great Dane. The second is probably the bloodhound or southern hound, though if the first be the deerhound, the second is more probably the *lymer* of Boece. The third may be the old-fashioned otter-hound, now discarded by otter-hunters in favour of the foxhound. The description of the fourth applies to the black-and-tan bloodhound.

## SPORTS AND PAGEANTS

(1440-1565).

IT has been said that we do not know a people till we have seen them at their play. From the following statutes regarding the regulation of public amusements in the city of Aberdeen we see what place they held in the life of Scotland during the 15th and 16th centuries. We are here introduced to the whole round of pageants in which the people sought relaxation at the different periods of the year ; and are forcibly reminded of the fact that it was out of the most sacred mysteries of their religion that they drew their chiefest diversion. One fact deserves to be specially noted in connection with these national amusements. Before the date when the Reformers inspired the councils of the country, the higher consciousness of the nation was already revolted by the brutal excesses of the secular sports and religious festivals. The Statute of 13th April 1552, given below, clearly proves that even under the old religion those responsible for the national wellbeing had begun to feel that the ancient amusements had served their day, and that their continuance could only retard the growth of more rational forms of diversion. The Act of Parliament of 1555 suppressing the representation of Robin Hood and Little John, and other ancient pastimes, was passed before the triumph of the Protestant party. Simultaneously throughout Europe, indeed, and apart from the religious revolution, there was a gradual quickening of the moral sense which made impossible the continuance of the coarse humours of the Middle Age. If the people themselves had not as yet felt this quickening, those in authority at least had felt it, and sought in different ways to raise the tone of public opinion. At the College of Guyenne in Bordeaux, Buchanan tells us that plays on classical models were written expressly to wean the boys from their

liking for the mediæval mysteries. In 1547, also, the Parliament of Paris was constrained to suppress, by reason of the excess of their buffoonery, "all mysteries of the Passion, or other sacred mysteries." In their coercive measures against the popular pastimes, therefore, the Scottish Reformers only pushed to extremes a movement which the ancient church had already felt to be necessary in the interests of morality and common decency.—The extracts which follow are selected from a paper in the *Analecta Scotica* (Second Series, 1837), entitled "Municipal Statutes regulating the Sports, Pageants, and Processions in the City of Aberdeen, from the year 1440 to the year 1565."

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5 September 1442.—Thir craftis underwritin sal fynd yerly, in the Offerand<sup>1</sup> of our Lady at Candilmes, thir persounes underwritin, that is to say:—

The littstaris<sup>2</sup> sal fynd

The Emperour<sup>3</sup> and twa Doctouris,<sup>4</sup> and alsmony honest Squiares as thai may;

The smythis and hamermen sal fynd

The Thrie Kingis of Culane,<sup>5</sup> and alsmony honeste Squiares as thai may;

The talyoures sal fynd

Our Lady, Sancte Bride, Sanct Helene, Joseph, and alsmony Squiares as thai may;

<sup>1</sup> "On Candlemas Daye it shall be declared that the bearynge of candels is done in the memorie of Christe, the spiritual lyghte, when Simeon dyd propheeye as it is redde in the Churche in that daye."—Proclamation of Henry VIII., quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, i. 43 (Bohn's edition). The "offerand" consisted of these candles, borne by the various saints and great personages named below, to make the rite more imposing. <sup>2</sup> Dyers. <sup>3</sup> As being after the Pope the greatest personage in Christendom. <sup>4</sup> Of Theology. <sup>5</sup> The three Magi or Wise men of the East, also known in the Middle Age as the three Kings of Cologne.



## The skynares sal fynd

Tua Bischopes, Four Angelis, and alsmony honest Squiares  
as thai may ;

The webstaris and walkaris<sup>1</sup> sal fynd

Symion<sup>2</sup> and his Disciples, and alsmony honeste Squiares,  
&c.

## The cordonares sal fynd

The Messyngear and Moyses, and alsmony honest Squiares,  
&c.

## The fleschowares fynd

Twa or Four Wodmen, and alsmony honeste Squiares, &c.

## The brethren of the gilde sall fynd

The Knyghtes in harnas, and Squiares honestlye arayt.

The baxstaris<sup>3</sup> sal fynd

The Menstralis,<sup>4</sup> and alsmony honest Squyares as thai  
may, &c.

30 April 1445.—The last dai of the moneth of Aprile,  
the yheir of grace a thousand four hundreth fourty and five,  
it was concludit, statute, and ordanit, be the comoune coun-  
sale and mony others of the gilde, for lettynge and stanchey-  
ing of diuerss enormyteis, done in tyme bigane, be the Abbitts  
of this burgh callit of Bone Acorde,<sup>5</sup> that in tyme to cum  
thai will give na feis to na sic Abbotis.

<sup>1</sup> Fullers. <sup>2</sup> Candlemas was also known as the holiday of St Simeon.  
<sup>3</sup> Bakers. <sup>4</sup> Every town of any importance in Scotland was provided with  
these minstrels. In the town records of Aberdeen there is mention of  
tambourines, fiddles, pipes and trumpets. For May 26th, 1630, there is a  
curious entry to the effect that the "comoun pympar be discharged of all going  
throu the toun at nicht or in the morning in time coming with his pypes, as  
being ane incivill forme to be usit within sic a famous burghe." <sup>5</sup> "In Aber-  
deen, however, they (the mysteries) appear at an early period to have been  
conducted under the auspices of two personages styled the 'Abbot and Prior  
of Bon-Accorde,' who were represented by two young citizens, probably sons or  
connections of the magistrates in whom the nomination of these popular offices  
were vested."—Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. 89.

Item, it is sene speidful to thaim, that for this instant yher thai will haue na sic Abbot, bot thai will that the Alderman for the tyme, and a balyhe quham that he will tak til him, supple that faute.

1 February 1484.—The first dai of Februa<sup>r</sup>, the yer of God mccccxxxiiij, it is ordanit and decretit be the Alderman and counsale, that the talyeours and al utheris craftismen within the toune, sal, in tyme to cum, beyr thare takyinis<sup>1</sup> of thare craft apon thare breistis,<sup>2</sup> and thare best aray on Candilmes day at the Offerand: and quha that contervinis, and dois nocht, sal tyne thare fredum for a yer.

23 January 1496.—The saide day, it was statut and ordanit be the alderman, bailyeis, and consale, for the honor and defenss of the toune, that everie craftsmen within this burghe sale ger mak<sup>3</sup> ane standart for thar craft.

2 February 1502.—The saide day, Johne Rob, wobstar,<sup>4</sup> Johne Williamson, Alexander [                      ], Andro Hill, Thome Wobster, Gilbert [                      ], Williame Wobster, Archibald Wobster, and Johne Paule, ilkan<sup>5</sup> of tham, was convict be ane suorne<sup>6</sup> assiss, Alexander Rede, forspeikar, becauss thai dide nocht it that aucht thame to do, one Candilmess day, in the processione of the auld honorable and loveabill consuetude<sup>7</sup> of the burgh; and for tha quhilkis, thai war in ane amerciament of the court, and to amend as law will, and forbeir in tyme to cum, becauss thai pretendit thame to procede and pass in the place of the processione quhar the talyours had vyss<sup>8</sup> to pass tymes bigane.

30 November 1504.—The said day, it was statut and ordanit be the bailyies and counsaile, riplie avisit, for the vphaldin and preseurans of the auld louabile honor, consuetud and rit of the said burgh, vsit and sustenit in tymes bigane, in the honor of thar glorius patroun, Sanct Nicholes,<sup>9</sup> that ale personis, burges, nichtbours, and burges sonnys, habill to

<sup>1</sup> Symbols.    <sup>2</sup> Breasts.    <sup>3</sup> Cause to be made.    <sup>4</sup> Weaver.    <sup>5</sup> Each one.  
<sup>6</sup> Sworn.    <sup>7</sup> Custom.    <sup>8</sup> Use.    <sup>9</sup> The St Nicholas of Aberdeen was the Bishop of Myra, whose feast was celebrated on the 6th of December; his image appears on the ancient seals of the city.

rid to decoir and honor the toun in thair array, convenient tharto, sale rid with the Abbot and Prior of Bonaccord on every Sanct Nicholas day throw the toune, as vss and wont has bein, quhen thai ar warnit be the said Abbot and Prior obefore: And gif ony man, hawand tak<sup>1</sup> of watris and fishing of the toune, habill to rid, be warnit be the said Abbot and Prior of Bonaccord, and wile not rid, [thai] sale tyn ther takis quhilkis thai haue of the toune, at the nixt assedatioun;<sup>2</sup> bot gif thai haue ane ressonable causs and impediment that thai may not rid, quhilk thai sale shaw and be considerit be the alderman bailyies and counsaile obefore: And utheris personis beand warnit, habile to rid, and failyies tharin, without ane ressonable causs shawin to the alderman, bailyies, and counsaile for the tyme, sale pay to Sanct Nicholes werk<sup>3</sup> xx sh. unforgevin, and viij sh. to the bailyies for thair unlaw.

30 January 1505.—The said day, it was fundin be the ald lovable consuetud and ryt<sup>4</sup> of the burgh, that in the honor of God and the Blissit Virgin Mary, the craftsmen of the samyn, in thar best aray, kepit and decorit the processioun one Candilmes day yerlie; quhilk auld and louabile consuetud, the prouest, baillies, and consale, riplie avisit, ratifeit, and approvit the said ryt; and atour<sup>5</sup> statut and ordanit that the saids craftsmen, and thair successoris, sale perpetualie in tyme to cum, observe and keipe the said procession, als honorably as thai can: And thai sale, in order to the Offering in the Play, pass tua and ij togidr socialie; in the first the fleshhoris, barbouris, baxturis, cordinaris, skineris, couparis, wrichtis, hat makars [and] bonat makars togidr, walcaris, litstaris, wobstaris, tailyeouris, goldsmiths, blaksmithis and hamermen; and the craftsmen sale furnyss the Pageants; the cordinaris, the Messing;<sup>6</sup> wobstaris and walcaris, Symeon; the smythys [and] goldsmithis, iij Kingis of Cullane; the litstaris, the Emperour; the masons, the Thrie Knechtis; the talyors, Our Lady, Sanct Brid, and Sanct Elene; and the skynners, the Tua Bischopis; and tua of ilke craft to pass with the pageant that thai furnyss to keip thair geir; and gif ony persone or persouns happinis to

<sup>1</sup> Holding a lease. <sup>2</sup> Granting of leases. <sup>3</sup> The parish church, which was dedicated to St Nicolas. <sup>4</sup> Rite. <sup>5</sup> Moreover. <sup>6</sup> Messenger.

failye and brek ony poynt befor writin, and beis convict tharof, [he] sale pay xl sh. to Sanct Nicholas werk, and the balyeis unlaw unforgevin: Ande to the obseruing and keping of the samyn, ale the said craftsmen was oblist, be thair handis uphaldin.

16 May 1507.—The Abbat and Prior of Bonacord.—The saide day, it was statut and ordanit, be the prouest, bailyeis, and counsale for the vphaldin of the alde louabile consuetuid, honor, and rite of the toune, that ale manere of youthis, burgeis and burges sonnys, salbe redy everie halyday to pass with the Abbat and Prior of Bonacord, in thair array convenient thairto, under the paine of xx sh. ilkane persone that falyeis,<sup>1</sup> and [ ] tharof for thar unlawe unforgevin; quhilk unlawe salbe departit<sup>2</sup> betuix Sanct Nicholes werk and the said Abbat and Prior equalie; and in likuiss thai ordanit the tounes officers to be redy to pass with the said Abbatt and Prior continualie for the honor of the toune.

8 May 1508.—Bonacord.—The said day, it was statut and ordanit be the alderman, baillies, and consale, that all personis that ar abill within this burghe salbe redy with thair arrayment maid in grene and yallow, bowis, arrowis, brass [?], and all uther convenient thingis according thairto, to pass with Robyne Huyd and Litile Johnne,<sup>3</sup> all tymes convenent tharto, quhen thai be requirit be the saidis Robyne and Litile Johnne, eftir the tenor of the statuts and proclamatioun maid be the proveistis, baillis, and counsaill; and gif ony of the said personis happenis to failye in ony poynt befor writyne [he] sall pay fourty shillings unforgiven, and sall nocht bruik<sup>4</sup> nor joiss<sup>5</sup> tak, fisching, nor land of the said burgh.

17 November 1508.—The said day, the prouest, bailyeis, counsaill, and comunitie of the said burghe, representand the haill body of the samyne, warnit be the hand bell, ale in ane

<sup>1</sup> Fails. <sup>2</sup> Divided. <sup>3</sup> For an account of the representation of Robin Hood and Little John, it is sufficient to indicate Scott's well-known chapter in *The Abbot*, and the notes he has attached to his description. <sup>4</sup> Own. <sup>5</sup> Enjoy.

voice considerand, riplie avisit, for the auld rit and lovable consuetud of the said burgh, vsit and perseurit all tymes bigane, past memor of man, in the honor of thar glorius patron Sanct Nicholaice, statut and ordanit, that all personis, burges, nichtbouris, and inhabitaris, burges sonnys, habill to ryd, to decor and honor the towne in thar array conveyant therto, sall rid with Robert Huyd and Litile Johne, quhilk was callit, in yers bipast, Abbat and Prior of Bonacord, one every Sanct Nicholas day, throw the towne, as use and wont has bene, quhen thai wer warnit be the said Robert Huyde or Litile Johne, or ony ane of theme; and gif ony man haff-and<sup>1</sup> taks of watris, fischeingis, landis, or ony pensioun or proffit of the toune, habill to rid, beand warnit be the saidis Robert Huyd or Litile Johne forsaid, and will nocht ryd, and beis convict tharintill be ane suorne assiss of the said burgh, [thai] sall tyne thar takis, pensiounis, and proffitis that thai haue of the said burghe, and salbe secludit, removit, and uterlie expellit fra all takis, pensionis, proffits, quhatsumever thai have of the said burgh, in tyme to cum; without ressonable causs schawin and propinit<sup>2</sup> to the prouest, bailyeis, counsaill, Robene and Litile Johne, obefoir, and be considert be thame to be lauchfull impediment and excuss quharthrow thai mycht not ryd; and the personis havand na takis of the said burghe, beand warnit be the said Robert Huyd or Litile Johnne, and will not rid, sall pay xx shilling to Sanct Nicholas werk, and viij sh. to the bailyeis unlaw vnforgevin.

3 February 1510.—Craftsmen absent fra the Procession one Candilmes day.—The said day Thomas Meldrum, William Patonsone, Andro Jonsone yonger, John Allane, and Richard Wricht, was ilkan of thame in amerciament of court, be thar avine<sup>3</sup> tounge condemit, becauss thai passt not in the procession of Candilmes day to decoir the samyn, and tile amend as law wil, and forber in tyme to cum.

12 December 1510.—The Persones that raid nocht one Sanct Nicholes Day.—The saide day, Johne Anderson, Alexander Lochehillis, David Lane, and John Quhitcore, be

<sup>1</sup> Having. <sup>2</sup> Presented. <sup>3</sup> Own.



thar avine toungeis convyct for the breking of the acts and statuts maid obefoir to rid one Sanct Nicholes day, with the Abbat and Prior of Bonacorde, to decoir the toune, was in amerciment of the court, and tile amend as law will, and forber in tyme to cum.

25 January 1512.—The said day, the prouest, bailyeis, and counsale present for the tyme, ratefeit and approvit the actis maid obefoir, that every craft within this townne, sall haue a pair of torcheiss, honestlie maid of four pund of wax, to decoir and worschip the sacrament one Corpus Xri day, and at the Fest of Pasche, at the Resurrexioun, at Youle, and at all vther tymes, quhen neid is to the honor of the townn; and ordaiuus all frie and unfre to loit and scot,<sup>1</sup> and pay thair part tharto, as thai ar extentit to, be the deknys<sup>2</sup> of thair craftis.

5 February 1523.—Statut of Candilmes Processioun.—The sayd day, the provest, with the aviss of the haill counsell present for the tym, fund and delyverit, that the craftsmen of the said burgh had failyet in the observing and keiping of the lovabill auld statut, maid be thair predecessoris, with the consent of the haill craftsmen, in the honoring and decoiring of the procession on Candilmess day, becauss thai wer absent for the maist part, and that thai that wer present, buyr<sup>3</sup> nocht the taikins of thar craft, eftir the forme of the said statut: And ordanit the bailyes to wptak<sup>4</sup> thair vnlawis of the absent, and thai that failyeit in the bering of their taiknis, to amend in tym cuning, vnder al payne contenit in the auld statut, to be wptakin but ramisioun.

30 April 1535.—Statut on the grene Cottis.<sup>5</sup>—The said day, it is thocht expedient, and ordanit be the consale, that all the young able men within this guid [toun], haue thair grene cottis; and agit men, honest cottis efferand to thame;

<sup>1</sup> Scot and lot; that is, a *Scot* or tax assessed in proportion to the *lot* or ability of the person. <sup>2</sup> Deacons. <sup>3</sup> Bore. <sup>4</sup> Collect. <sup>5</sup> Suits of Lincoln green for the representation of Robin Hood and his Merry Men on the first of May.

and obey and decor the Lordis of Bonaccord, conform to the auld lovable vse of this guid tovn, under the painis of braking of commands and statutis of the guid toun, that beis convickit tharof, and to be punest conform tharto.

26 May 1538.—The said day, the prowest, balyess, and consell present for the tym, ordanit and chargit Robert Arthur and Johnn Arthur, yongar, sonis to Jon Arthur, to cum the morne within the queyr<sup>1</sup> of Sanct Nicolace Kyrk, in tyme of the seruis, barfeyd,<sup>2</sup> ilkane of thame with ane candill of vax, of ane pound, in thar hand, and syt doune on thair kneis, and beseyk the prowest, in the townis name, to forgyf thame for the strublens<sup>3</sup> don tharto be thame in tym of thair solace and play; and, inlykwyss, to beseyk the said prowest and gud men of the tounn to mak request to the Lordis of Bonacord to forgyf thame the falt and strublens done to thaim: And gif thai, or ony of thame, committis ony sicklik falt, to pay v merkis to Sanct Nicolas wark, the committaris tharof, onforgewin.

21 June 1538.—The sayd day, Walter Hay, goldsmyth, dekyne of hemermen, comperit in jugement, and complenit to the balyes, allegiand wrang don to thaim be the armeraris, in usurping of thair place in the processioun of Corpus Xri this day, and ganging behind thame, aganis the comond ordinance and statuts of this nobill burght, and all the borrowis within this realm; requyrand thaim for remeyd of law; protesting, gyf thai refusit, that it be lesum<sup>4</sup> to call the said armerars befor jugis sperituall or temporal, and for remeid of law.

24 April 1539.—Heir followis the Lordis of Bonacordis desyr.—My Lord Prowest, balyes, and consall of this gud toun; onto your w[isdomes,] humely meinis and schawis,<sup>5</sup> we, Walter Hay and Thomas Sherar, Lords of Bonacord; That quhar your w[isdomes] put ws in the said office this instant yeir, albeit we ar nocht convenient thairfor, nottheless we sall, God willand, do the best we may to your w[isdomes] honor, and the gud tounes; quharfor we exhort your w[is-

<sup>1</sup> Choir. <sup>2</sup> Barefooted. <sup>3</sup> Disturbance. <sup>4</sup> Lawful. <sup>5</sup> Means and shows.

domes] that we hef the auld lovable use, lang vsit and kepit within this gud toune, nor in our tyme lyk as it hes bene in our predicessors tymis; that is to say, all the yong able men within this guid toune, to convoy us, every Sunday and Halyday, and uthir neidful tymes, aboulyet<sup>1</sup> as yor w[isdomes] hes deuisit, and agit men to meit us at the Clabstane<sup>2</sup> or Kirkyard; and thai that compeirs nocht, that we may poynd<sup>3</sup> thame, conforme to the auld vse, or ellis mony of thame will nocht obey us; and also, that yor w[isdomes] pleiss ratefy and afferme the saying yie promyst ws, the tyme of our chesing in office; that is to say, ane of the first fremen that begud<sup>4</sup> at our chesing, that we heff securitie in your bukis tharoff: And your w[isdomes] ansur heirapoun maist humely we be-seik.

The quhilk petitioun forsaid, the prowest, balyes, consall, and comunite present for the tyn, ratifeit, approwit, and affermit; and ordains the same to be kepit and observit, in all poyntis tharof, undir the panis conteinit in the same, to be ouptakin and poyndit be the forsaid Lordis at thair plesur.

13 April 1552.—Statut for electioun of Lordis of Bonacord.—The said day, the counsell, all in ane voce, havand respect and consideratioun that the Lordis of Bonacord, in tymis bigan, hes maid our mony grit, sumpteous, and superfluous banketing, induring the tyme of thair regnne, and speciallie in May, quhilke wes thocht nother profitabill nor godlie, and did hurt to sindry young personis that wer elekit in the sad office, becaus the last elekit did ay pretend to surmont on thair predecessoris, in ryetouss and sumpteous banketing, and the causs, principall, and gud institutioun thair of, quhilk wes inhalding of the guid toun in glaidnes and blythnes with dansiss, farsiss, playis, and gamis in tymes convenient, [wes] neclekit and abusit: Thairfoir ordanis that,

<sup>1</sup> Dressed. <sup>2</sup> That is, the Crabstane. James Gordon, in his *Description of both Townes of Aberdeen*, published by the Spalding Club, thus refers to this well-known stone:—"In the way which goes from Aberdeen towards the Bridge of Dee there is a considerable stone, standing by the way syde, called the *Crabstane*, from whence that fight took its name in the yeir 1571, when Adam Gordon of Auchindoune, brothir to the Earl of Huntly, did here obtaine a victorie over the Lord Forbes and his followers." <sup>3</sup> Distrain. <sup>4</sup> Began.

in tyme cuming, all sic sumptuous bankating be laid doun aluterlie; except thre sober and honest [bankats], viz. wpoun the Seyne day;<sup>1</sup> the first Sondag of May; and ane uthir upoun Tuiseday efter Pasche day;<sup>2</sup> and na honest man to pass to ony of thair bankeitis, except on the said thre dais allanerlie; and, in the place of the forsaid superfluous banketting, to be had and maid yeirly tua plais,<sup>3</sup> or ane at the lest, with danssis and games usit and wont; and quhasaiver refuisis to accept the said office, in tym cuming, beand elekit tharto be the toun, to tyne his fredome, privilege, takis, and profit he hes, or ma haf, of the toun, and never to be admittit fra-thinsfurth, to office, honor, nor dignitie.

4 May 1562.—The said day, Johnn Kelo, belman, wes accusit in jugement for the passing throw the rewis<sup>4</sup> of the tounn, with the hand bell, be oppin voce, to convene the haill comunite, or sa mony thairof as wald convene, to pass to the wood, to bring in symmer upoun the first Sondag of Maii; contraveinand the actis and statutis of the Quenis Grace, and Lordis of Consel;<sup>5</sup> epperandlie to raiss tumult, and ingener<sup>6</sup> discord, betuix the craftismen and the fre burgeses of gild, and the saidis craftesmen to dissobey and attempt aganis the superioris of the toun, gif it stud in thair power, as the saidis prowtest and baillies ar informit; the said Johnne having na comand of the saidis prowtest and

<sup>1</sup> Ascension Day in Rogation Week, one of the "gang days," when it was the custom to march in solemn procession round the limits of the parish or burgh, with the express purpose of invoking the divine blessing. The procession was followed by banquetings and festivities (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i. 197). <sup>2</sup> Good Friday. <sup>3</sup> As elsewhere, these plays, generally known as Mysteries, were very popular in Scotland during the Middle Age. Thus Knox makes Wishart say in his last sermon at Haddington, "I have heard of thee, Hadingtoun, that in thee wold have bein at ane vane clerk play two or three thousand people; and now to here the messenger of the eternall God, of all thy toune nor parishe can not be nombred a hundreth souls" (Laing's *Knox*, i. 138). <sup>4</sup> Streets (French, *rues*). <sup>5</sup> By an Act of Parliament of 20th June 1555, it was "statute and ordanit that in all tymes cumming na maner of persoun be chosin Robert Hude nor Lytile Johnne, Abbot of unressoune, Quenis of May, nor otherwyse, nouthir in Burgh nor to landwart in ony tyme to cum." The enforcement of this law in Edinburgh occasioned a serious riot in 1561, which is described by Knox (*Works*, ii. 157, edit. Laing), and the author of the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (pp. 65, 66, Ban. Club). <sup>6</sup> Engender.

baillies to do the same; and inlykwyss, Alexander Burnat, alias Potter, wes accusit for passing throw the toun with ane swech, to the effect and occasioun aboun wrytin; quhilk Johne and Alexander confessit the samyn, alleigand thai did the samyn of na ewill mynd, bot conforme to the auld wse, and be comand of Johnne Grant, quha is ane fre burgess, and brother of gild; and had done na wrang tharin, as thai allegit: And the said Johne Grant inlykmaner beand accusit for giffing command to the saidis Johnne and Alexander, as is aboun wrytin, and passing throw the toun, fortifeing and menteining thame as he mocht, to the effect for-said, grantit and approwit the same, and denyit ony wrang done be him thairintill: Quhilk mater wes put to the decisioun and knowleg of the assiss aboun wrytin, [consisting of twenty-one persons] chosin, suorne, and admittit in jugement; quhilk accepit the said mater on thame, and efter consulta-cioun and consideracioun, ryplie awisit, enterit in court, and fand and deliuerit all in ane voce, be the moutht of Gilbert Menzes, elder chancellor of the said assiss for the tyme, that the saidis personis had grytlie wrangit in the comitting of the said enormitie and heyt atemptat,<sup>1</sup> but the awiss of the prowest, baillies, and superuris of the toun; quhairfor thai, and ilkane of thame, wer in amerciament of court; and that wes gevin for dome,<sup>2</sup> and the modificacion of the amendis referrit to the discretioun of the consell; quhilk thaireftir being deulie convenit, discernit and ordanit the saidis persones to compeir vpoun Sondag nixt cums, within the paroche kirk, and thair, immediately eftir the preching, in presens of the congregacioun, grant thair said offens as done throw ignorance; and, upoun thair kneis, ask God and the congregacioun forgifnes, and obleist thame selfiss, thair opinlie, that gif thai be convickit for sic offens in tyn cuming, to tyn thair fredome, proffit, and privilege of this guid toun, and to be seperat and exulat fra the societie tharof frathensfurth; and quha of thame dissobeyis the said ordainance, to incur the samyn pane, but fauor or request to be hard on the contrar.

18 May 1565.—The sayd day, the consell present for the tyme, being convenit to decern anent the emendis and pun-

<sup>1</sup> High misdemeanour (Fr. *attentat*). <sup>2</sup> Judgment.



yshment of James Masar, Lourens Masar, sadlar, Mathow Guild, armerar, Andrew Wysman, cordinar, and Thomas Hunter, cutlar, quhilk ar conviekit for contempning and dissobeying of the townis actis and ordinans obefor, and contravening of the actis of parliament: The counsall, ryple adwysit, considering the said attemptat, and ground quharof the same proceidit, to be to genir<sup>1</sup> schism and discord within the burgh, dischargit<sup>2</sup> the saidis personis of thair fredome, and fra all exercitioune of thair crafts, conform to the act of parliament; and ordanis publict proclamacioun to be maid heir-upoun; and the consell alsua statut and ordanit, with consent of the haill toun present for the tyme, that na craftisman be maid fre for sewin yeirs to cum, except fremenis sonis.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Engender. <sup>2</sup> Deprived. <sup>3</sup> This appears to have been the last attempt to celebrate the old May games, though traces of them remained till the present century.

## TRADE REGULATIONS

(1529–1531).

THE following curious Acts for the regulation of different trades are taken from the book of the Statutes of the Burgh of Edinburgh, between the dates of October 1529 and July 1531. Those here given are chosen from the collection published in the second volume of the *Maitland Miscellany*. These Acts, it may be said, curiously illustrate what has already appeared from the specimens of Parliamentary legislation quoted above—the deliberate way in which the public authorities interfered in matters which are now left to adjust themselves by the natural laws of supply and demand.

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*Broustarris*.<sup>1</sup>—It is statute and ordanit be the Provest Ballies and Counsall that na brouster na dry tapstar in this burgh tak apone hand to sell ony derrar aill fra Monunday furth at nixt cummys na <sup>2</sup> xvi ð the galloune, and at<sup>3</sup> it be gud and sufficient aill of the price forsaide commonlie tilbe sauld till all the Kingis liges vnder the pane of viij s for the first falt the secund falt deling<sup>4</sup> of thair aill and the thrid falt to bring thar caldrone or kettellis to the crose and ding<sup>5</sup> thame throw with ane puncione<sup>6</sup> and spane<sup>7</sup> thame fra the operatione for yer and day.

*Baxtaris*.<sup>8</sup>—Item it is statute and ordanit be the prouest ballies and counsall that all baxtaris within this burgh baik thar braid gud and sufficient stuff weill bakin and dryit and at the ij ð laif <sup>9</sup> wey xvij vncis and the brovne breid efferand<sup>10</sup> tharto vnder the pane of ane wnlaw the first falt and fra thine<sup>11</sup> furth deling of thar breid. And that na Hukstar within this toune tap nor sell ony quhite breid in for buthis fra

<sup>1</sup> Brewers. <sup>2</sup> Than. <sup>3</sup> That. <sup>4</sup> Distribution. <sup>5</sup> Pierce. <sup>6</sup> Punch. <sup>7</sup> Wean.  
<sup>8</sup> Bakers. <sup>9</sup> Loaf. <sup>10</sup> In proportion. <sup>11</sup> Thence.

Monunday furth vnder the pane of eschaeting of the breid and bannasing of thaim the toune and at ilk baxtar haif bot ane buth to sell his breid in allanerlie and his awin merk apone his breid.

*Candilmakaris.*—Item it is statute and ordanit be the prouest ballies and counsall that all maner of parsonis candilmakaris within this burgh that thai mak thair candill that thai sell till our Souerane Lordis legis of gud and sufficient stuff baith weyk<sup>1</sup> and tallone<sup>2</sup> and sufficient werk-manschip and at thai sell the pund thairof commonlie for vj ð the rag weyk and v ð the liß the hardis weik and at thai haif thair ballandis<sup>3</sup> and wechtis baith les and mar and be redy till sell the samyne in pundis and half pundis in houssis and vtouth<sup>4</sup> gif thai pas apone the hie gait<sup>5</sup> vnder the pane of viij s for the first falt and the second falt eschaet of thair stuff and the thrid falt spanyng of thar operatione and quhen thai pas throu the toвне that thai be honestlie tursit<sup>6</sup> vnder the panis forsaide and at na candilmaker melt thair tallone on the foirgait vnder the said panis.

*Stabillaris.*<sup>7</sup>—Item it is statute and ordanit be the prouest ballies and counsall that all maner of stabillar within this burgh haif thair stabillis weill and sufficient furnest with hek and mangear with sufficient lokis for the durris for sure keiping of the horsis that stabillis with thame and sall sell thar best corne that wilbe mell<sup>8</sup> till all our Souerane Lordis legis for vj ð the pek and the secundar for v ð the pek and at thai sell the stane of hay for iiij ð the stane under the pane of viij s for the first falt the secund falt eschaet of the stuff and the thrid falt spanyng fra thair operatione and that thai tak na stabill fee fra the personis that lugis with thame thai byand thar corn and hay fra the said stabillaris and at na maner of personis except stabillaris by nor sell ony aittis or hay to sell and regrait<sup>9</sup> to the Kingis liegis vnder the pane of eschaeting of the stuff and bannasing of the toune.

<sup>1</sup> Wick. <sup>2</sup> Tallow. <sup>3</sup> Balance. <sup>4</sup> Outwith, out of doors. <sup>5</sup> Road. <sup>6</sup> Packed. <sup>7</sup> Stablers. <sup>8</sup> According to Jamieson, to *mell* is to become damp, the term being applied solely to corn in the straw. <sup>9</sup> To retail. The term was applied to the buying up of an article, in order to make a profit by selling it in small quantities.

*The Statute to haue Wappinis redy in Buthis.*—Item because in tymes past thar has bene slauchteris and murthoraris committit within the toвне in defalt of the officiaris and nichtbouris that rysis nocht to resist and pvnise the samyne to the gret selander and diffamatioune of the ƿoune makand it to be fre to all syk mischeiffis.

Heirfor it is statute and ordanit that euery merchand and craftisman haiffand thair foir buthis that thai haif in thair said buthis ane ax or twa or thre efter as thai haue seruandis and to cum incontinent to the provest or ballies redy to fortefy and manteine thar our men and justice and quha that has nocht the said wappinnis fra Monunday furth nixt to cum and is nocht redy to cum to thair oure men incontinent as said is to pay to the commone werkis of the toвне xl s̄ for the first falt and for the secund falt gif he be ane man of substans to pay x li to the commone werkis of the toвне and for the thrid falt tyne his fredome. And gif he be ane man that has nocht substans and may nocht pay the said wnlawis to tyne his fredome for yeir and day and forther induring the townis will.

*Bikkyrringis<sup>1</sup> betuix Barnis.*—It is statut and ordanit be the prouest ballies and counsall forsamekle as thar has bene gret bikkyrringis betuix barnis and followis<sup>2</sup> in tymes past and diuerse tharthrow hurt in perrell of thar lyffis and gif sik thingis be usit thar man diuerse barnis and innocentis be slane and diuisione ryse amangis nychtbouris tharthrow. Heirfor we charge straitlie and commandis in our Souerane Lord the Kingis name the prouest and ballies of this burgh that na sic bykkyrrandis be usit in tymes to cum certifing that and ony persone be fund bykkyrrand that thar faderis and masteris sall ansuer and be accusit for thar deidis and gif thai be vagabondis thai to be scurgit and bannist the oune.

*The Statute anent the Leper Folk.*—It is statut and ordanit be the prouest ballies and counsall of this burgh that na maner of lipper persone man nor woman fra this tyme furth cum amangis uther cleine personis nor be nocht fund in the

<sup>1</sup> Stonethrowing. <sup>2</sup> Fellows.

kirk fische merket nor flesche merket nor na vther merket within this burgh under the pane of burnyng of ther cheik and bannasing off the toune.

*Anent the Seruandis that wescheis Clais.*—We do you to wit forsamkill that thar is diuers seruandis that hes thar masteris and hussis<sup>1</sup> claithis to the wattir and be the gait takis this womanis coller and that womanis curche<sup>2</sup> and wescheis thame amangis thar maisteris quharthrou. It is vnpossable to keip the toune clene gif sik thingis be usit. That therfor na seruandis wemen tak vther claithis than thar masteris and hussis and thar houshaldis claithis to wesche vnder the pane of burning of ther cheik and bannasing of the toune and that thar master or hussy pas and convoy ther seruandis or send ane auctentik<sup>3</sup> persone to convoy thame out of the toune for escheuing of sic dangeir vnder the pane of bandasing of the toune for yeir and day.

*Duly banist and nocht hangit becaus the Raip<sup>4</sup> broke.*—The quhillk day fforsamekle as Dauld Duly was decernit this day befor none for his demeritis to be hangit on ane gebbat befor his dure quhar he duellis. Nochtwithstanding because at the will of God he hes eschapit and the raip brokin and fallin of the gibbat and is ane pure man with small barnis and for pete<sup>5</sup> of him the prouest ballies and counsall bannasis the said Dauld this toune for all the dais of his lyf and nocht to cum tharintill in the meyntyme vnder the pain of deid.

<sup>1</sup> Housewife, mistress of the house. <sup>2</sup> A kerchief or covering for the head.  
<sup>3</sup> Accredited. <sup>4</sup> Rope. <sup>5</sup> Pity.



## A MILITARY EXPEDITION

(1568).

IN the following bald notes we have the account of a progress made by the Regent Moray into the southern counties of Scotland immediately after the battle of Langside (June, 1568). The object of the expedition was to crush the Lords Herries, Maxwell, Fleming, and other supporters of Mary, who refused to acknowledge the new government. Besides being an interesting topographical fragment the narrative vividly illustrates the merciless modes of warfare in practice at the time. There are two copies of the original manuscript, one in the Advocates' Library, and the other in the State Paper Office; and it has only been published in the second volume of the *Bannatyne Miscellany*. A contemporary account of the expedition, though still more brief, may be found in Lord Herries's *Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots* (Abbotsford Club).

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THE PROGRESSE OF THE REGENT OF SCOTLAND WITH  
CERTEN OF HIS NOBILITIE, BEGYNNING THE XI<sup>th</sup> OF  
JUNE, ANNO 1568.

IN primis the xvij<sup>th</sup> daye of Maye, anno 1568, the Regent of Scotland made a proclamation, that the Shires<sup>1</sup> of Mernis, Angus, Fyf, Merse, Lowdyan, Kyll,<sup>2</sup> and Carycke<sup>3</sup> shold provyde xv<sup>ten</sup> dayes victuallis, and to meete hym the x<sup>th</sup> daye of June in Begger,<sup>4</sup> to ryde in the sowthwest of Scotlande, for punyshinge of dysobedyent persons and theves.

The xj<sup>th</sup> daye of June, the Regent of Scotlande, with

<sup>1</sup> The term *Shires* is here loosely used for district. <sup>2</sup> Kyle. <sup>3</sup> Carrick.

<sup>4</sup> Biggar.

certen of his nobilitie, marched furth of Edenborough, and that night come to Begger, where they receaued the castle of Boghall, perteyninge to my Lord Flemynge;<sup>1</sup> they had cast that downe, but these reasons stopped them: First, he was in England, and at that present could gett no worde to them; Secondly, he had the castle of Dumbarton in his hande, whiche they were in hope to receave, they sparinge his place. The armye jorneyed this daye xx myles.

The xij<sup>th</sup> daye, the Regent caused cast downe the castle and place of Skyrlinge,<sup>2</sup> a notable buyldinge, vpon this consideration, that others might heare and feare. And that night he marched forward to a place called Crawford John, perteyninge to Sir James Hamylton,<sup>3</sup> and receaued the castle therof, but cast it not downe because they hadde the man in their owne handis. They jorneyed this daye x miles.

The xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye of June, they marched to Sawcher [Sancher,] and laye there all night, but cast not downe my Lords place,<sup>4</sup> because he hath made a promysse to come in to the Regent to Edenborough at a daye, and sewertie found therefore. They jorneyed that daye xij miles.

The xiiij<sup>th</sup> daye they marched forward to a valley called barbarusle the holme of Dawherny [Dalquherne,]<sup>5</sup> where they remayned all the night, and toke some goodis there. This daye thay sende the Lard of Wedderburne<sup>6</sup> to the Larde of Lowinvar [Lochinvar,]<sup>7</sup> to desyre hym to come in, who all vtterly refused. After they sende hym offers, that if he wold come in, and laye a pledge at Michelmas nexte, that they wold do hym no injurye; and yf there were any chaunge of courtis betwene this and that tyme, that he

<sup>1</sup> Boghall was the seat of the Fleming family—Lords Fleming from 1460, and Earls of Wigtown from 1606 to 1747. Of the castle there is hardly a trace left. <sup>2</sup> Skirling Castle, near the village of Skirling, West Peeblesshire, belonged at this time to Sir James Cockburn, a warm supporter of Queen Mary and brother-in-law of Lady Herries. <sup>3</sup> Sir James Hamilton of Finart, illegitimate son of the Earl of Arran, regent during the minority of Mary. There are the remains of three old castles at Crawfordjohn. <sup>4</sup> Sanquhar Castle, belonging to Lord Sanquhar, ancestor of the Earls of Dumfries. <sup>5</sup> Dalquharran in parish of Dailly, Ayrshire. <sup>6</sup> David Home of Wedderburn. His son, David of Godscroft, was the well-known author of *A History of the Houses of Douglas and Hume*. <sup>7</sup> There are still traces of the old castle of the Gordons of Lochinvar on the lake of that name in Dalry parish, Kirkcudbrightshire.

should be at his advantage without reprove; but all their offers were refused by hym. This daye they jorneyed xij myles.

The xv<sup>th</sup> daye they marched to a place called St John's clawan, [clachan,]<sup>1</sup> and remayned there, two myles from Lowinvar place, [fortalice,] in hope of incommynge, for they wold not haue destroyed his place if they could haue gotten any appointment of hym; but this night my Ladye Herry's<sup>2</sup> wrote to hym not to go in to the Regent, and shewed hym that her husbände wold gett supporte; the which lettire was a great stoppe to his incommynge. They jorneyed this daye x myles.

The xvj<sup>th</sup> daye they marched to Lowtkayn [Loch Ken,] foranest Kanmvre.<sup>3</sup> In the morninge there appeared about lx men vpon an hill syde, but enterprysed nothinge. This daye the place of Kenmvre was destroyed and cast downe, and another proper place, also an ffreindis of Lowinvaris. They jorneyed this daye two myles.

The xvij<sup>th</sup> daye they come to the water of Vr, to a gentlemans place, called Makneth, [Macnaught of Kilquhonnetie,] and remayned, where diuerse gentlemen came in and gaue obedyence, and were receaued thankfully. This daye they jorneyed viij myles.

The xvij<sup>th</sup> daye they marched toward Dumfreis, and in marchinge forwardis toke certen robbers and villanes, and hanged. They jorneyed this daye xiiij myles.

The xix<sup>th</sup> daye they remayned in Dumfreis, and the castle thereof was offred them, which apperteyneth to my Lord Maxwell. This daye sondrye of the Maxwellis, Johnstouns, Vrwins,<sup>4</sup> Grahames, and Belis, come to the Regent, and offred them selves, and was thankfully receaved: for the Maxwellis, come in the goodman of Hillis;<sup>5</sup> for certen of the Johnstons, the Larde of Newbe;<sup>6</sup> for the Grahames, Forgus the Grahame; for the Vrwins, Kirstie of Bonshawe;<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St John's Town of Dalry, still commonly known as the Clachan. <sup>2</sup> Lord Herries was one of the most ardent supporters of Mary. <sup>3</sup> Kenmure Castle, also the property of the Gordons. The date of its original erection is not known. Oliver Cromwell completed the work of the Regent Moray. <sup>4</sup> Irvines. <sup>5</sup> The Castle of Hills in parish of Lochrutton still stands. It was formerly the property of the family of Maxwell. <sup>6</sup> New Abbey. <sup>7</sup> Bonshaw in parish of Annan.

&c. My Lorde Maxwell, the Lorde of Johnston, Cowhill,<sup>1</sup> Lowinvar, with them the number of a thowsande men, was in Dumfreis two dayes before, and spent all the meate and drinke that was readye, as also consulted what was best to be done agaynst the Regentis commynge. Yt was thought that my Lord Maxwell shold haue come in, yf Cowhill, Johnston, and Lowinvar had not stopped hym, and conselled hym to the contrarye. They jorneyed this daye xiiij myles.

The xx<sup>th</sup> daye they marched toward Hoddome,<sup>2</sup> a place of my Lord Harrys, the which was maynteyned by men of warre agaynst the Regent on Harrys behalfe, and was a stronge forte. This night they helde it, and shott many shott of greate ordynance furth of the place, and slewe one horse and man. This night the broken<sup>3</sup> countries and theves gathered to the number of a thowsande men, and brake a chase after some of our men that was goynge furth of the campe; the whiche when the Regentis men perceyved, sende furth a chase after them, and toke two or three, and one of them was the Lord Johnstons father brother. They laye within halfe a myle of the campe. This daye they jorneyed x myles.

The xxj<sup>th</sup> daye the house was geuen over to the Regent, the which they might haue holden longe ynoughe, yf they had ben good fellowes within it: and vpon this condicion only, that the men shold haue their lyves, and no more; all bagge and baggesse to remayne in yt; and yt was delyuered to the Lord of Dumlanargie<sup>4</sup> to kepe, who is appointed Warden in those partis of Scotlande foranenst Englande. This daye my Lorde Regent sende furth a thowsande men with my Lorde Hewme<sup>5</sup> and Morton, to haue drawnen a

<sup>1</sup> In parish of Holywood, Dumfriesshire. <sup>2</sup> Hoddam Castle in parish of Cummertrees, built by Lord Herries in the 15th century. From the Memoirs of Lord Herries we learn that when Moray was at Dumfries, he gave orders that the house of Terregles, the family mansion of Lord Herries, should be dismantled; "but the Laird of Drumlanrig, who was Lord Herries's uncle, and in favour with the Regent, told that Lord Herries would take it as a favour to ease him of pains in throwing it down himself, to be built in another place. The Regent swore, he scorned to be a barrow-man to his old walls, and so it was safe" (p. 106). In the Memoirs it is also stated that Hoddam Castle held out for three days (*Id.*). <sup>3</sup> That is, under sentence of outlawry. <sup>4</sup> Drumlanrig Castle in parish of Durisdeer, now the seat of the Duke of Buccleugh. <sup>5</sup> The Earl of Home afterwards joined the King's party.

chase on the theves and rebellis, but they fledde, and wold not preike.<sup>1</sup> This daye, as also of before and after, there was a greate hunger in the campe; for the Scottis pynte of wyne was at vij<sup>s</sup> Scottyshe, and no breadde to be hadde. Some dyed for hunger in the campe. This daye and before, they burnt diuerse gentlemens places about, that wold not come in nor obeye.

The xxij<sup>th</sup> daye the campe remayned, but the Regent, with a thowsand horsemen went to Annan, and receyved the castle thereof, and put one Edwarde Vrwyn to kepe yt; and there mett my Lorde Scroope of Englande, and talked with hym a longe while, and that night returned to the campe to Hoddome. They jorneyed this daye vij myles.

The xxiiij<sup>th</sup> daye they marched to Lowchmaben, and receyved the castle therof, and gaue yt to Drumlanarige; but some of the Maxwelllis remayned in a crosse house or volt<sup>2</sup> within, and toke the house agayne, after the Regent was gone; and so they haue the house agayne.

That daye they receyved a place of the Larde of Johnston, called Lokat [Lochwood,]<sup>3</sup> and another called Lowhouse [Lochhouse,]<sup>4</sup> but they cast them not downe, for he hath promysed to come in at a daye, and sewertie for the same founde. This daye toke many castell and furnyshed the campe. This night also they slew two of the theves, by a shott of greate ordynance shott at threscore of them. This night they hanged one of the theves that was taken in the campe stealinge horses. This night they laye at a place called Mylton Holme. Jorneyed x myles.

The xxiiiij<sup>th</sup> daye they come to Pebles, and remayned all night; and toke order with that countrie, for they come all in to the Regent. They jorneyed xxij myles.

The xxv<sup>th</sup> daye the Regent went to Edenboroughe, and the rest of the armye to their owne countrie and boundis. They jorneyed xij myles.

The number of the whole campe of horsemen in armour to fower thowsand; of harquebuzoiers and halbertmen one

<sup>1</sup> Ride. <sup>2</sup> Vault or cellar. <sup>3</sup> Lochwood Tower in parish of Johnstone, Dumfriesshire, now a ruin. It was of this castle that James VI. said that "he who built it must have been a thief at heart." It stood amongst woods in the middle of a morass. <sup>4</sup> It stood like Lochwood in the neighbourhood of Moffat.



thowsand; of cariage horses with victuallis fower thowsand; of boyes and yonge men that kept horses three thowsand.

*The Countries the Regent passed throughe.*

In primis, he passed through Cliddisdail; secondly, through Gallawaye; thirdly, through Nyddisdail; ffourthly, through Annerdail; ffyftely, through Tweddell.

*The Order of his Armye.*

Fyrst, Alexander Hewme of Manderston<sup>1</sup> and Huton Hall<sup>2</sup> went before all the armye a myle, with a cornett<sup>3</sup> of two hundred men, and they were appointed to skewre the feildis.

Then followed them the vauntergarde, to witt, Hewme and Morton, with a thowsande men and mo.

Nexte after them came the caryage,<sup>4</sup> and behinde the caryage the Regent selfe, with the rest of the armye; and behinde the Regent went the Larde of Cesfourde, with a cornett and a companye with hym. At euery side of the armye there went a cornett, to wete, on th' one side, the Lardis of the Marshe, on the other syde, the Larde of Buckelewghe.<sup>5</sup>

THUS ENDES THE PROGRESSE AND ORDER.

<sup>1</sup> Manderston in parish of Duns, Berwickshire. <sup>2</sup> Hutton Hall in parish of Hutton in Berwickshire. <sup>3</sup> A troop of cavalry, said to be so-called because each company had a cornet or bugle. <sup>4</sup> Baggage. <sup>5</sup> Shortly afterwards the Laird of Buccleugh joined the Queen's party.

## A TRIAL FOR WITCHCRAFT

(1576).

THROUGHOUT the Middle Age the church had never ceased to deal with witchcraft according to the command of Scripture; but curiously enough it was not till faith was at its ebb that the doings of witches assumed serious importance in the eyes of the pope and his advisers. It was a bull of Innocent VIII. (1484) that first woke Christendom to a genuine alarm at the malign agencies in its midst. Armed with this bull, the notorious Sprenger began his crusade against witches with the fervid faith and disinterested intention of the best of the saints. As recorded in his *Malleus Maleficarum* ("the Hammer of Witches"), the story of his wholesale execution of unfortunate wretches is one of the most lamentable in human annals. It would seem, indeed, that for the time a veritable frenzy took possession of men's minds. Half of Europe, it has been said, was either bewitching or bewitched. The best proof of the universal infatuation is the fact that Leo X., a born sceptic, if ever there was one, was in 1521 forced to renew the bull of Innocent VIII., and that the following year it was again renewed by Adrian VI.

The great Protestant leaders, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Knox, held as strong convictions as any mediæval theologian regarding the direct personal intervention of Satan in human affairs, and were equally convinced that it was an act of faith to send his agents by the speediest road to himself. Moreover, it was the lively concern of the Reformed Churches to show that in breaking with Rome they had lost no whit of zeal against the manifest works of darkness. Hence in activity against heresy and witchcraft the Protestant countries were little behind the Church of Rome herself. As her history proves, there was no lack in

Scotland of religious zeal and sectarian bitterness; but this has to be said of her—that of all Christian countries she has the cleanest record in the matter of giving men to death for religion's sake. In the case of witchcraft it was otherwise. Three years after the establishment of the Reformed Church in Scotland (1563)<sup>1</sup> the Act of Parliament was passed, under which began the long series of executions for witchcraft closing with the death of an old woman at Dornoch, as late as 1722.<sup>2</sup> In Protestant, as in Catholic countries, it was the clergy who took the leading part in what was essentially a religious duty; and, as abundant records prove, the clergy of Scotland favourably compare with their brethren elsewhere in the conscientious zeal with which they discharged it. As we now see, to denounce men for acts which they undoubtedly regarded as due to God and their own conscience, is simply to denounce our common nature and the conditions of its development. It is because no picture of the time would be complete without some indication of its most deplorable aberration that the following specimen of a witch trial is given. As “one of the earliest and one of the most remarkable,” it may suffice to illustrate the manner in which this frightful inquisition was conducted (Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. part ii.).

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NOV. 8.—ELIZABETH OR BESSIE DUNLOP, SPOUS TO  
ANDRO JAK IN LYNE.

DILATIT<sup>3</sup> of the vsing of Sorcerie, Witchcraft, and Incantatioun, with Invocatioun of spretis of the devill; continewand in familiaritie with thame, at all sic tymes as sche thocht expedient; deling with charmes, and abusing the peple with devillisch craft of sorcerie foirsaid, be the meanis eftir specefeit; usit thir diuerse yeiris bypast; specialie, at the tymes and in maner following.

In the first, That fforsamekle as the said Elizabeth being demandit, be quhat art and knaulege sche culd tell diuerse

<sup>1</sup> A similar act had been passed in England the year before. <sup>2</sup> It is said that 4000 persons suffered death in Scotland for the crime of witchcraft.

<sup>3</sup> Accused.

persounes of thingis thai tynt,<sup>1</sup> or wer stollin away, or help seik persounes? Ansuerit and declarit, that sche hirself had na kynd of art nor science swa to do; bot diuerse tymes, quhen onye sic persounes come ather to hir, sche wald inquire at ane Thome Reid, quha deit at Pinkye,<sup>2</sup> as he himself affirmit; wha wald tell hir, quhen euir sche askit.—

(2.) ITEM, Sche being inquirit, quhat kynd of man this Thom Reid was? Declarit, he was ane honest wele elderlie man, gray bairdit, and had ane gray coitt with Lumbart<sup>3</sup> slevis of the auld fassoun; ane pair of gray brekis and quhyte schankis,<sup>4</sup> gartanit abone the kne; ane blak bonet on his heid, cloise behind and plane befor, with silkin laissis drawin throw the lippis<sup>5</sup> thair of; and ane quhyte wand in his hand.

—(3.) ITEM, Being interrogat, how and in quhat maner of place the said Thome Reid come to hir? Ansuerit, as sche was gangand betuix hir awin hous and the yard of Monkcastell, dryvand hir ky to the pasture, and makand hevye sair dule<sup>6</sup> with hir self, gretand verrie fast for hir kow that was deid, hir husband and chyld, that wer lyand seik in the land ill,<sup>7</sup> and sche new rissine out of gissane.<sup>8</sup> The foirsaid Thom mett hir be the way, healsit<sup>9</sup> hir, and said, ‘Gude day, Bessie;’ and sche said, ‘God speid yow, gudeman.’ ‘*Sancta Marie*,’ said he, ‘Bessie, quhy makis thow sa grit dule and sair greting for ony wardlie<sup>10</sup> thing?’ Sche ansuerit, ‘Allace! haif I nocht grit caus to mak grit dule? ffor our geir is trakit;<sup>11</sup> and my husband is on the point of deid, and ane babie of my awin will nocht leve; and myself at ane waik point; haif I nocht gude caus thane to haif ane sair hart?’ Bot Thom said, ‘Bessie, thow hes crabit<sup>12</sup> God, and askit sum thing you suld nocht haif done; and, thairfoir, I counsell thee to mend<sup>13</sup> to him: for I tell thee thy barne sall die, and the seik kow, or yow cum hame; thy twa scheip sall de to: bot thy husband sall mend, and be als haill and feir<sup>14</sup> as euir he was.’ And than was I sumthing blyther, fra he tauld me that my gudeman wald mend. Than Thome Reid went away fra me, in throw the yard of Monkcastell; and I

<sup>1</sup> Lost. <sup>2</sup> That is, who fell at the battle of Pinkie. <sup>3</sup> Lombard. <sup>4</sup> Stockings.

<sup>5</sup> Folds. <sup>6</sup> Lament. <sup>7</sup> The name for any epidemic. <sup>8</sup> Childbed. <sup>9</sup> Hailed.

<sup>10</sup> Earthly. <sup>11</sup> Dwindled away. <sup>12</sup> Provoked. <sup>13</sup> Make atonement.

<sup>14</sup> Sound.

thocht he gait <sup>1</sup> in at ane naroware hoill of the dyke nor ony erdlie man culd haif gane throw ; and swa I was sumthing fleit.<sup>2</sup> This was the first tyme that Thom and Bessie forgadderit.<sup>3</sup>—(4.) ITEM, The thrid tyme, he apperit to hir, as sche was gangand betuix hir awin hous and the Thorne<sup>4</sup> of Damwstarnok, quhair he tareit ane gude quhyle with hir, and sperit at hir, ‘Gif sche wald nocht trow<sup>5</sup> in him?’ Sche said, ‘Sche wald trow in ony bodye did her gude.’ And Thom promiseit hir bayth geir, horsis, and ky, and vthir graith,<sup>6</sup> gif scho wald denye hir Christindome, and the faith sche tuke at the funt-stane.<sup>7</sup> Quhairvnto sche ansuerit, ‘That gif sche suld be revin<sup>8</sup> at horis-taillis, sche suld neurir do that;’ bot promiseit to be leill and trew to him in onye thing sche culd do. And forder, he was sumthing angrie with hir that (sche) wald nocht grant to that quhilk he spak.—(5.) ITEM, The ferd<sup>9</sup> tyme he apperit in hir awin hous to hir, about the xij hour of the day, quhair thair was sittand thre tailzeouris, and hir awin gudeman; and he tuke hir apperoun and led hir to the dure with him, and sche followit, and zeid<sup>10</sup> vp with him to the kill-end,<sup>11</sup> quhair he forbaid hir to speik or feir for onye thing sche hard or saw; and quhene thai had gane ane lytle pece fordwerd, sche saw twelf persounes, aucht wemene and four men: The men wer cled in gentilmennis clething, and the wemene had all plaiddis round about thame, and wer verrie semelie lyke to se; and Thome was with thame: And demandit, Gif sche knew ony of thame? Ansuerit, Nane, except Thom. Demandit, what thai said to hir? Ansuerit, Thai baid hir sit down, and said, ‘Welcum, Bessie, will thou go with ws?’ Bot sche ansuerit nocht; becaus Thom had forbidden hir. And forder declarit, That sche knew nocht quhat purpois thai had amangis thaime,<sup>12</sup> onlie sche saw thair lippis move; and within a schort space thai pairtit all away; and ane hiddeous vglie sowche<sup>13</sup> of wind followit thame: and sche lay seik quhill Thom came agane bak fra thame.—(6.) ITEM, Sche being demandit, Gif sche sperit at Thom quhat persounes thai war?

<sup>1</sup> Got in. <sup>2</sup> Frightened. <sup>3</sup> Met. <sup>4</sup> Thorns, it should be said, were trysting-places both for brownies and lovers. <sup>5</sup> Trust. <sup>6</sup> Goods. <sup>7</sup> At the font in baptism. <sup>8</sup> Dragged. <sup>9</sup> Fourth. <sup>10</sup> Went. <sup>11</sup> Kiln for roasting malt. <sup>12</sup> That is, what was the subject of their conversation. <sup>13</sup> Rushing sound.



Ansuerit, That thai war the gude wychtis<sup>1</sup> that wynnit<sup>2</sup> in the Court of Elfane;<sup>3</sup> quha come thair to desyre hir to go with thame: And forder, Thom desyrit hir to do the sam; quha ansuerit, 'Sche saw na proffeit to gang thai kynd of gaittis, vules sche kend quhairfor!' Thom said, 'Seis thow nocht me, baith meit-worth, claith-worth, and gude aneuch lyke in persoun; and (he?) suld make hir far better nor euer sche was?' Sche ansuerit, 'That sche duelt with hir awin husband and bairnis, and culd nocht leif thame.' And swa Thom began to be verrie crabit<sup>4</sup> with hir, and said, 'Gif swa sche thocht, sche wald get lytill gude of him.'—(7.) INTERROGAT, Gif sche had socht ony thing at Thom to help hir self, or ony vthir with? Ansuerit, That quhen sundrie persounes cam to hir to seik help for thair beist, thair kow or yow,<sup>5</sup> or for ane barne that was tane away with ane evill blast of wind, or elf-grippit,<sup>6</sup> sche gait and sperit<sup>7</sup> at Thom, Quhat mycht help thame? And Thom wald pull ane herb, and gif hir out of his awin hand; and baid hir scheir<sup>8</sup> the samin with onye vthir kynd of herbis, and oppin the beistis mouth, and put thame in; and the beist wald mend.—(8.) ITEM, Thom gaif hir, out of his awin hand, ane thing lyke the rute of ane beit,<sup>9</sup> and baid hir owthir<sup>10</sup> seith,<sup>11</sup> and mak ane saw<sup>12</sup> of it, or ellis dry it, and mak pulder<sup>13</sup> of it, and gif it to seik persounes, and thai suld mend. Interrogat, How sche knew the samin wald haille? Declarit, That sa son as sche rubbit the saw vpoun the patient, man or woman, or chyld, and it drank in, the chyld wald mend; bot gif it swat<sup>14</sup> out, the persoun wald die.—(9.) ITEM, Demandit, To whom sche applyit that kynd of medecine? Ansuerit, That sche mendit Johne Jakis barne, and Wilsounes of the toun, and hir gude-man-sisteris kow: Thre tymes Thom gaif hir sic ane herb out of his awin hand. And demandit, To quhom sche applyit the powder in drink? Declarit, That the Ladye Johnestoune, elder, send to hir ane seruand of the said ladies, callit Catherine Dunlop, to help ane young gentill woman, hir dochter, now mareit on the young Lard of Stanelie; and I thairvpoun askit counsall at Thom. And he

<sup>1</sup> Wights. <sup>2</sup> Dwelt. <sup>3</sup> Fairy-land. <sup>4</sup> Cross. <sup>5</sup> Ewe. <sup>6</sup> Possessed by elves.

<sup>7</sup> Inquired. <sup>8</sup> Strain, sift. <sup>9</sup> The red beet. <sup>10</sup> Either. <sup>11</sup> Seethe. <sup>12</sup> Salve.

<sup>13</sup> Powder. <sup>14</sup> Sweated.

said to me, 'that hir seiknes was ane cauld blude, that gaid about hir hart, that causit hir to dwam and vigous away ;'<sup>1</sup> and Thom baid hir tak ane pairt of ginger, clowis,<sup>2</sup> annetsedis, licorese, and sum stark aill, and seith thame togidder, and schyre it, and put it in ane veschell, and tak ane lytill quantetie of it in ane mutchekin cane, and sum quhyte sucker cassin amang it ; tak and drink thair of ilk day, in the morning ; gang<sup>3</sup> ane quhyte eftir, befoir meit ; and sche wald be haill. Interrogat, Quhair sche gaif the gentill woman the drink ? Ansuerit, In hir awin sisteris hous, the young Ladye Blakhallis. Demandit, Quhat sche gat for hir doing ? Declarit, Ane pek of meill and sum cheise.—(10.) ITEM, Demandit, Gif ony vther persounes had bene at hir for the lyke caus ? Declarit, That the Lady Kilbowye, elder, send for hir, and desyrit to se gif sche culd mak hir ony help for hir leg, that was cruikit ; quha promiseit ansuer, sa sone as sche had spokin with Thom ; but Thom said, 'Sche wald neur mend ; becaus the merch<sup>4</sup> of the bane was consumit, and the blude dosinit ;'<sup>5</sup> and gif sche socht onye forder help, it wald be war<sup>6</sup> with hir !'—(11.) ITEM, Sche being demandit, Gif sche culd do onye gude to ony wemene that wer in travell of thair chyld-bed-lare ?<sup>7</sup> Ansuerit, That sche culd do nathing, quhill sche had first spoken with Thom ; quha layit down to hir ane grene silkin laise, out of his awin hand, and baid hir tak it to thair wylie coittis,<sup>8</sup> and knit about thair left arme ; and incontinent the seik woman suld be deliuer. Bot the said laise being layit anis down be Thom, sche culd neur apprehend it, and maid grit seking thairfoir. Item, Declarit, That quhen hirself was lyand in chyld-bed-lair of hir last laid,<sup>9</sup> Thom come to hir, in hir awin hous, and bad hir 'tak ane gude hart to hir, for nathing suld aill hir.'—(12.) INTERROGAT, Gif sche culd tell of ony thing that was away, or ony thing that was to cum ? Ansuerit, That sche culd do nathing hir self, bot as Thom tald hir : And farder declarit, That mony folkis in the countre (came to hir ?) to gett witt<sup>10</sup> of geir stollin fra thame. Demandit, Quhat persounes thai wer ? Ansuerit, The Ladye Thridpairt, in the

<sup>1</sup> To swoon and faint. <sup>2</sup> Cloves. <sup>3</sup> Walk about. <sup>4</sup> Marrow. <sup>5</sup> Torpid.

<sup>6</sup> Worse. <sup>7</sup> Lare, or lair is also bed. The word is, therefore, tautologous.

<sup>8</sup> Bid her attach it to their underclothing. <sup>9</sup> Burden. <sup>10</sup> Information.

barronye of Renfrew, send to hir, and sperit at her, Quha was it that had stollin fra hir twa hornis of gold, and ane croune of the sone,<sup>1</sup> out of hir pyrse? And, eftir sche had spokin with Thom, within xx dayis, sche send hir word quha had thame; and sche gat thame agane. Item, James Cwninghame, chalmerlane of Kilwinning, come to hir about sum beir that was stollin furth of the barne of Cragance;<sup>2</sup> and sche tald him quhar it was; and he gat it agane. Item, The Ladye Blaire sundrie tymes had spokin with her, about sum claise that was stollin fra hir; ane pair of stemming hoise,<sup>3</sup> ane pair of scheittis, ane codwair,<sup>4</sup> lynning claithis, sarkis and seruiettis,<sup>5</sup> ffor the quhilkis sche dang and wrackit<sup>6</sup> hir awin seruandis; bot Thom tauld hir, 'That Margret Symple, hir awin friend<sup>7</sup> and seruand, had stollin thame.' Item, Being demandit of Williame Kyle, burges of Irrvin, as he was cumand out of Dumbartane, quha was the steillar of Hew Scottis cloik, ane burges of the sam toun? Thom ansuerit, 'That the cloik wald nocht be gottin; because it wane (ware?) tane away be Malye Boyde, duellare in the sam toun, and was put out of the fassoun of ane cloik, in kirtill:'<sup>8</sup> and albeit, ye said Williame had promiseit that sche suld nocht be trublit for the declaratioun of the samin; yit, sa sone as sche com to the mercat of Irrvin, sche was put in the tolbuyth and strukin; bot was releivit be James Blair, brothir to Williame Blair of the Strand.'—(13.) ITEM, Demandit, (Gif sche had been applyit to?) be Henrie Jamesoun and James Baird in the Manys of Watterstoun, to get thame knowlege quha had stollin thair plew-irnis, fittick and musell?<sup>9</sup> Declarit, 'Sche suld gif thame ansuer sa sone as sche had spokin with Thom; quha schew hir that Johnie Blak and George Blak, smythis, had stollin the samin; and that the cowtir<sup>10</sup> and sok<sup>11</sup> wer lyand in his awin hous, betuix ane mekle ark<sup>12</sup> and ane grit kist:'<sup>13</sup> And forder said, 'That quhen thai com thair to the ryping,<sup>14</sup> thai suld nocht find

<sup>1</sup> A French coin, the *écu du soleil*, struck under Louis XI. and Charles VIII. <sup>2</sup> Craigends. <sup>3</sup> Hose made of tamine or worsted stuff. <sup>4</sup> A pillowslip. <sup>5</sup> Serviettes. <sup>6</sup> Knocked about and beat. <sup>7</sup> Relative. <sup>8</sup> Altered from the shape of a cloak into a kirtle. <sup>9</sup> The "muzzle" swings by a bolt from the "lugs" at the end of the plough; the "fittick," a steel chain with a hook, attaches the muzzle to the traces. Both terms, though not in Jamieson, are still in use. <sup>10</sup> Coulter. <sup>11</sup> Sock. <sup>12</sup> A large chest. <sup>13</sup> Chest. <sup>14</sup> Searching.

thame; becaus that Jame Dowgall, sheriffs officiar, quha than presentlie was with thame, suld ressaif thre pundis for the conceling of thame; for the quhilk caus also sche was apprehendit be the saidis smythis, and brocht to my Lord of Glasgow.<sup>1</sup>—(14.) INTERROGAT, Quhow sche kennit that this man was Thome Reid, that deit at Pinkye? Ansuerit, Sche neuir knew him quhen he was on lyfe; bot that sche suld nocht dout that it was he bad hir gang to Thom Reid, his sone, now officiare in his place, to the Lard of Blair, and to certain vtheris his kynnismen and freindis thair, quhom he namit; and baid thame restoir certane guidis, and mend vthir offencis that thai had done; and that it was he that send thame word thair of: ‘Remember . . . . .  
. . . that quhen he and he went togidder to the blak Settir-day; and that the said . . . . . wald haif bene ane vther gait; he drew him be the Kirk of Dalrye, and thair coft<sup>2</sup> ane pund of feggis<sup>3</sup> and gaif him, and put thame in his naipkin; and sa thai went togidder, quhill thai com to the feild.’—(15.) ITEM, Interrogat, Gif Thom, at his awin hand, had send to ony persoun, to schaw thame thingis to cum? Declarit, That he send hir to na creatour in middilyerd,<sup>4</sup> bot to Williame Blair of the Strand, and his eldest dochter, quha was contractit and schortlie to be mareit with . . . . . Crawford, young Lard of Baidland, and declair vnto thame, ‘That gif sche mareit that man, sche suld aythir die ane schamefull deid, slay hir self, cast hirself doun our ane craig, or ga reidwod;’<sup>5</sup> quhairbye the said mareage was stayit; and the lard foirsaid mareit hir youngest suster. Tryit to be of veritie.—(16.) INTERROGAT, Quhat sche thocht of the new law?<sup>6</sup> Ansuerit, That sche had spokin with Thom about that mater; bot Thom ansuerit, That this new law was nocht gude; and that the auld ffayth suld cum hame agane, but nocht sic as it was befor.—Interrogat, Gif euir sche had bene in suspect place with Thom, or had carnell deill with him? Declarit nocht vpoun hir saluatioun and condemnatioun; bot anis he tuke hir be the aproun, and wald haif had hir gangand with him to

<sup>1</sup> James Boyd, bishop of Glasgow, brother to Lord Boyd, Bessie's landlord.

<sup>2</sup> Bought. <sup>3</sup> Figs. <sup>4</sup> Middle-earth, a term common in fairy superstitions.

<sup>5</sup> Raving mad. <sup>6</sup> The Reformed faith.



Elfame.—(17.) ITEM, Interrogat, Quhat tyme of the day or nycht he maist resortit to hir? Ansuerit, That at the twelft hour of the day was his commoune appearing.—(18.) Interrogat, Gif sche had sene him gangand vp and doun the world? Declarit, That anis sche saw him gangand in the kirkyard of Dalrye, amangis the people.—(19.) Demandit, Giff sche spak onye thing to him? Ansuerit, Na, becaus he had forbiddin hir, that, quhair euir sche saw him, or mett with him, sche suld neur speik to him, vnles he spak to hir first. Item, sche saw him gangand vp and doun on the gait<sup>1</sup> of Edinburgh, vpoun ane mercat day, quhair he leuch<sup>2</sup> vpoun hir, and gaid vp and doun amangis the peple, and put his handis to the lavis,<sup>3</sup> as vthir folk did.—(20.) INTERROGAT, Gif sche neur askit the questioun at him, Quhairfoir he com to hir mair (than) to ane vthir bodeye? Ansuerit, Remembring hir, quhen sche was lyand in chyld-bed-lair, with ane of hir laiddis,<sup>4</sup> that ane stout woman com in to hir, and sat doun on the forme besyde hir, and askit ane drink at hir, and sche gaif hir; quha alsua tauld hir, that that barne wald de, and that hir husband suld mend of his seiknes. The said Bessie ansuerit, that sche remembrit wele thair of; and Thom said, That was the Quene of Elfame his maistres, quha had commandit him to wait vpoun hir, and to do hir gude.—(21.) INTERROGAT, Gif euir sche had spokin with him at ane loich and wattir-syde? Ansuerit, Neur save anis that sche had gane afeild with hir husband to Leith, for hame bringing of mele, and ganging afeild to teddir hir naig at Restalrig-loch, quhair thair come ane cumpanye of rydaris by, that maid sic ane dynn as heavin and erd had gane togidder; and incontinent, thai raid in to the loich, with mony hiddous rumbill. Bot Thom tauld, It was the gude wichtis that wer rydand in Middil-zerd.—(22.) INTERROGAT, Quhene sche spak last with Thom? Declarit, On the morne eftir Candilmes-day lastwas, quhair sche spak with him, and he tauld hir of the evill weddir that was to cum.—(23.) INTERROGAT, Gif sche neur sperit, quhat truble suld cum to hir for his cumpanye? Declarit, That sche wald be trublit thairfoir; bot baid hir seik ane assyis<sup>5</sup> of hir nychtbouris,

<sup>1</sup> Street. <sup>2</sup> Laughed. <sup>3</sup> Shook hands with the rest. <sup>4</sup> Loads, burdens (*i.e.*, children). <sup>5</sup> Reconciliation with.



and no thing suld aill hir:—fforder declarit, that sche suld be brocht to Glasgw, and sche come in the Bischopis handis, sche wald be wele treit, and send hame agane.—(24.) ITEM, the said Bessie declaris, that the Lard of Auchinskeyth<sup>1</sup> is rydand with the ffair-folk, albeit he deit ix zeir syne.

APUD *Dalkeyth*, xx<sup>mo</sup> *Septembris*, anno 1576.—(25.) BESSYE DUNLOP being re-examinat, in presence of the Lard of Quhittinghame and George Auchinlek of Balmanno, and being inquirit, Quhow oft Thom Reid come to hir, or sche inquirit quhow thai callit him? Deponis, That he com thryis, and that sche had na power at na tyme, to try or tell ony vthir, in the menetyne, of his cuming. He requirit hir sundrie tymes to pas with him, and becaus sche refusit, he schuke his heid, and said that he suld caus hir forthink<sup>2</sup> it. Deponis forder, that sche has spokin with him at diuerse tymes, be the space of four yeiris.—(26.) BEING inquirit anent the pleuch-irnis, stollin fra Henrie Jamesoun and James Baird, depones, That sche inquirit at Thom Reid, quha declarit to hir, that Gabriell Blak and Geordie Blak in Lokarsyde staw thame, and brocht thame to thair faderis hous, namit Johnne Blak, vpoun ane cuttit gray horse,<sup>3</sup> on ane Setterday, in the nycht; quhilk sche tauld agane to the saidis Henrye Jamesoun and James Baird.—(27.) ITEM, deponis that four yeir syne, or thairbye, sche saw the Laird of Auchinskeyth, at a thorne, beyond Monkcastell; quhilk Lard deit mair nor fyve yeir syne. Thaireftir, sche, at the desyre of the Ladye Auchinskeyth, inquirit at Thom Reid, Giff sic ane mann was amangis thame? Quha ansuerit, That he was amangis thame.

#### ASSISA.

Andro Craufurd of Baithlem,  
Hew Hommyll in Kilburne,  
Thomas Gawand thair,  
Cuthbert Craufurd in Kilburnie,  
Hew Dunlop of Crawfeild,  
Henrie Clerk in Cokeydaill,  
Johnne Knok in Kilcuse,  
James Aitkin in Balgrene,

Johnne Or in Barnauch,  
Thomas Caldwell in Bultreis,  
James Harvy in Kilburnie,  
Robert Roger thair,  
Johnne Boyde in Gowanlie,  
Johnne Cochrane in the Manys of  
Bar,  
Thomas Stewart of Flaswod.

VERDICT. And immediatlie efter the chesing and swering

<sup>1</sup> His name was Dunlop. See Record of Retours, July 29, 1629. <sup>2</sup> Rue.  
<sup>3</sup> Grey gelding.

of the saidis persones of Assyis, as vse is, the said Elizabeth Dunlop, being on pannell, accusit be dittay<sup>1</sup> oppinlie red in jugement, of the crymes aboue writtin; the samin persounes, removit thame selffis furth of Court, and altogidder conuenit, and ressonnit<sup>2</sup> on the pointis of the said dittay; and being rypelie awysit<sup>3</sup> thairwith, and resoluit thairin; re-enterit agane to the said Court of Justiciarie, and thair, in presence of the said Justice Depute, be thair deliuerance, pronunceit and declarit be the mouth and speking of Andro Craufurd of Baithleme, ffand and deliuerit the said Elizabeth Dunlop, to be culpable fylit<sup>4</sup> and convict, off the hail pointis aboue writtin, and of vsing of Withecraft, Sorcerie, and Incantatioun, with Inuocatioun of spreittis of the devill, continewand in familiaritie with thame at all tymes, as sche thocht expedient, and thairbye deling with charmes, and abusing the peple, with hir devillische craft of sorcerie foirsaid, be the meanis aboue specefeit.

SENTENCE. ' CONUICT, AND BRYNT.'

[Lyn, Linne, or Linn, the home of Jessie Dunlop, is an ancient estate close to the town of Dalry in Ayrshire; there were "Lynns of that ilk" as early as 1296 and as late as 1612. The tradition, which associates the "Heire of Linne" of the well-known ballad with this "Lynn de eodem," is not authenticated. Andrew Jack, the husband of Bessie, was doubtless a small tenant or cottar on the estate; Blair, of which Andrew Thom was "officiar," is close by. On Blair estate is a remarkable cave, now called Cleaves Cove, but formerly known as "Elf-house," as being a notable haunt of the fairies. Most of the places named in the trial, as well as the homes of the jurors, are close to Linn, and in the adjoining parishes of Kilwinning, Kilbirnie, Beith, Lochwinnoch, and Kilbarchan, and may be identified on the Ordnance Survey Maps. *Leith*, where the poor woman is said to have gone to bring home meal, is probably a misprint for Beith, as *Restalrig Loch* for Hessilhead Loch (now drained). The statement made at Dalkeith on the 20th of September is properly Bessie's declaration before the trial, and may have been taken there, from the fact that William Douglas of Whittingham was one of the Douglasses of Dalkeith. The "ladies" Stanley were not peeresses but lairds' wives.]

<sup>1</sup> Indictment. <sup>2</sup> Reasoned. <sup>3</sup> Advised. <sup>4</sup> Held unclean, guilty. The term is technically opposed to "assoilzied."

## GEORGE BUCHANAN

(1582).

LIKE his predecessors, Major, Boece, and Leslie, Buchanan begins his history of Scotland with a general description of the country. This was from no such philosophical conception as that in which Jean Bodin had recently anticipated Montesquieu—the influence of climate on man; but simply from the fact that no satisfactory map of the country was as yet extant which might serve for the guidance of readers. While the modern historian is saved the trouble of a verbal description by a good map, these old historians were driven to do the best they could by a detailed enumeration of the leading features of the country. It will be seen that Buchanan's description is much shorter than that of Leslie, and even than that of Boece. This may be explained by the fact, that, in writing his history, Buchanan was conscious that he would have for his readers not only his own countrymen, but the learned of all Europe. It was his aim, therefore, to avoid unnecessary details in this as in every other part of his work. As a masterly survey of Scotland as it was known to Buchanan, his description could hardly be surpassed. In its distribution, arrangement, and subordination of parts we see the same presiding artistic faculty which made him the first Latin poet of his age, and which made his history to be compared with the best models of antiquity. Buchanan's history was first published in 1582, five years after that of Bishop Leslie. The translation here given is that of Thomas Aikman, which appeared in 1821.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I should say that I have occasionally altered the proper names in Aikman's translation to their present form.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.

HAVING now discussed the various suppositions respecting the ancient name of the island, the next thing is to describe the situation of the country. The native English writers have described distinctly and fully their own land; but Hector Boethius, in his description of Scotland, has inserted some things not strictly correct, and has led others into mistakes, for, credulous himself, he too rashly published the opinions of those to whom he had committed the labour of inquiry.<sup>1</sup> As for myself, I shall relate succinctly and briefly the matters of which I have certain information, and correct to the best of my ability those which appear either obscure or doubtful.

England, as far as connected with my present object, is appropriately divided by four rivers, two of which, the Dee and the Severn, empty themselves into the Irish Channel; and the other two, the Thames and the Humber, flow into the German Ocean. Between the Dee and the Severn Wales is situate, divided into three distinct principalities. Between the Severn and the Thames, lies all that part of the coast, which is opposite to France. The country stretching from the Thames to the Humber, forms the third part; and the fourth comprehends the remaining space, which extends from the Dee and the Humber to the borders of Scotland.

Scotland is separated from England, first by the river Tweed, then by the Cheviots, a very lofty range of mountains, where they end, by a modern rampart, and lastly, by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within these limits, from the Scots to the Irish Sea, the districts lie in the following order—the merse—in which the English now hold the town of Berwick<sup>2</sup>—situate on the left bank of the Tweed, is bounded on the east by the Frith of Forth, on the south by England. To the west of this district, on both sides of the river Tweed, is Teviotdale, which takes its name from the river Teviot, and is separated from England by the Cheviot hills. After these lie those smaller districts, Liddisdale, Evandale, and Eskdale, named from the three rivers, Liddel, Evan, and

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Buchanan defends Boece from the attacks of the Welsh antiquary, Humphrey Lloyd (*Rev. Scot. Hist.*, p. 44). <sup>2</sup> From 1482.

Esk; and last of all, Annandale, through which runs the Annan, whence the appellation—dividing it almost in the middle, and emptying itself into the Irish Sea, near the Solway.

Now, to return again to the Forth, it bounds Lothian on the east; Cocksburnpath and Lammermuir hills dividing that country from the Merse,<sup>1</sup> which last, bending a little towards the west, touches the districts of Lauderdale, and Tweeddale, the one named from the town of Lauder,<sup>2</sup> and the other from the Tweed, which flows through it. On the west and south, Tweeddale is bounded by Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale. The river Nith gives its name to the district through which it runs to the Irish Ocean. Lothian, named after Lothus, king of the Picts, is bounded on the east by the Frith of Forth, or the Scottish Sea, and on the south-west by the valley of Clyde. This district far excels all the rest in the cultivation of the elegancies, and in the abundance of the necessaries of life. It is watered by five rivers, the Tyne, the two Esks,<sup>3</sup> which, before they fall into the sea, unite in one channel, the Leith, and the Almond. These, rising partly among the Lammermuir mountains, and partly among the Pentland hills, flow into the Forth. The chief towns are, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow.

More to the westward lies Clydesdale, on both sides of the river Clyde, which on account of its extent, is divided into two wards, or sheriffdoms. In the upper ward there is a hill,<sup>4</sup> not remarkably high, from which flow three different rivers, into three different seas; the Tweed into the Scottish, the Annan into the Irish, and the Clyde into the Deucaledonian.<sup>5</sup> The principal towns are Lanark and Glasgow. Kyle is contiguous on the south-west. Galloway is beyond Kyle, and is separated from Nithsdale by the river Cluden, flowing almost directly south, whose banks mark out the remaining part of Scotland on that side. This whole tract of country is richer in flocks than in corn. The rivers

<sup>1</sup> The original here is—"Cocburni saltus et Lamyrii montes eam a Marcia separant." <sup>2</sup> More probably from the Leader. <sup>3</sup> The North and the South Esk. <sup>4</sup> Buchanan falls into the same mistake as Boece and Leslie in making these rivers take their rise in Tinto Hill. <sup>5</sup> By the Deucaledonian Sea Buchanan means the whole stretch of ocean along the west coast of Scotland.



which run into the Irish Sea, are, the Urr, the Dee, the Ken, the Cree, and the Luce. The face of the country never rises into lofty mountains, but sometimes swells into moderate hills. In the valleys between these, the waters collecting produce almost innumerable lakes, whence the rivers, increased by the first showers before the autumnal equinox, bring down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in fishing traps made of willows, and, salting them, derive from them a considerable profit. The extreme boundary, on that side, is the promontory of Novantum,<sup>1</sup> under which, in the mouth of the river Luce, is a bay, which Ptolemy calls Rerigonius [the bay of Glenluce]. The bay commonly called Loch Ryan, and by Ptolemy Vidogara, opens into it, on the opposite side, from the Frith of Clyde. The neck of land, which runs out between these bays, the inhabitants call Rhinn,<sup>2</sup> that is the rim, or edge,<sup>3</sup> of Galloway. They also call the promontory of Novantum the mull [the beak, or jaw]; but the whole district is called Galloway, from Gallovid, which, in the language of the ancient Scots, signifies a Gaul.

Below Loch Ryan,<sup>4</sup> Carrick slopes gently to the Frith of Clyde. Two rivers, the Stinchar, and the Girvan, intersect it, both of whose banks are skirted with pleasant villages. The land between them rises into gentle hills, well adapted for pasture, and not unfavourable for grain. The whole country not only abounds in the riches of the earth, and of the ocean, sufficient for the supply of its own inhabitants, but they have also large quantities to spare for their neighbours. The river Doon separates Carrick from Kyle, and rises from a lake of the same name, in which is an island, with a small castle<sup>5</sup> upon it. Kyle follows. It is bounded on the south by Galloway, and on the north-east by Clydes-

<sup>1</sup> The Mull of Galloway. <sup>2</sup> Gaelic *roinn*, a promontory. <sup>3</sup> It should be said that Buchanan speaks with a certain authority on the etymology of Keltic names as he was acquainted with Gaelic from his youth. I was assured by the late Mr Skene that the early portion of Buchanan's history proves him to have been thoroughly acquainted with the language. <sup>4</sup> In orig., *infra Vidogaram*. <sup>5</sup> Balliol's Castle, betrayed to the English in 1306. Chalmers identifies it with Laight Alpin, the scene of the death of King Alpin of Dalriada in 741. Skene, however, places it on the eastern shores of Loch Ryan (*O. G. S.*). Its ruins are still standing.

dale ; on the west, it is separated from Cunninghame by the water of Irvine. The river Ayr divides it about the middle, upon which is situate Ayr, a town of considerable trade. The whole country is more productive of brave men, than of corn or cattle, for the soil, almost everywhere, is light and sandy, which circumstance sharpens the industry of the inhabitants, as frugality increases the strength both of mind and body. Beyond this, Cunninghame stretches out towards the north, and straitening the Clyde, almost contracts it to the limits of a moderate river. The name of the region is Danish, and, in that language, signifies the residence of a king, which indicates that the Danes had it once in possession ; next, on the east side, is situate Renfrew, so named from a little town, in which their conventions were wont to be celebrated. The district is commonly called the Barony of Renfrew ; two waters intersect it—each named Cart.<sup>1</sup> After this Barony, is Clydesdale, extending along both banks of the Clyde, and, on account of its magnitude, divided into several jurisdictions. It is watered by many noble streams. On the left, the Avon and Douglas flow into the Clyde ; and, on the right, another Avon divides Lothian from the carses of Stirlingshire. These two currents have received the appellation common to rivers, instead of proper names, in the same manner as in Wales, in their dialect, they call a river, Avon.<sup>2</sup>

Stirlingshire is separated from Lothian on the south, by the Avon ; on the east, it is bounded by the Frith of Forth, which, contracting itself by degrees into the size of a passable river, admits of a bridge near the town of Stirling. One memorable river, the Carron, rolls through this country, in whose vicinity stand some ancient monuments. On the left bank are two earthen mounds, evidently artificial, vulgarly called Dunipace.<sup>3</sup> About two miles below, on the same side, there is a round edifice,<sup>4</sup> built without lime, the sharp blocks being so shaped that part of the uppermost insert themselves, or are mortised into the lower, and thus

<sup>1</sup> The Black and the White Cart. <sup>2</sup> Gaelic *abhainn* a river. <sup>3</sup> These mounds are believed to be "residuary masses left by retreated waters in which they have made shallows or islands." <sup>4</sup> This is the famous "Arthur's Oven," supposed by ancient antiquaries, and even by Camden, to have been a Roman antiquity. It was demolished in 1743 for the purpose of laying a mill-dam across the Carron.

the whole work, mutually locked together, and sustained by the weight of the stones, tapers from the bottom to the top in the form of an arch. The top is open. There are various conjectures about the use of this edifice, and the person by whom it was erected. For my own part, I was once induced to believe that it was a temple of the god Terminus, because, as we are informed, it was usual to build his temples round, and open at the top. And what tended to strengthen my belief, was the neighbourhood of Dunipace, as if, peace being made there, the Romans had erected these two hills, to mark the termination of their empire. Nor should I have altered my opinion, had I not been informed, by persons of undoubted veracity, that many similar edifices were to be found in the islands, differing from the one we have described, only by being bigger, and more loosely constructed. There are also two little temples of a similar form in Ross-shire.<sup>1</sup> These things obliged me to suspend my judgment, and to conjecture that they might be monuments of some great actions, and trophies of the conquerors, erected almost at the end of the earth, in order to be safe from hostile injury. But whether these last are trophies, or, what some imagine, the sepulchres of illustrious men, I believe them to have been monuments, consecrated as everlasting memorials, reared by untaught and uncultivated hands, after the fashion of that smaller edifice which is erected on the banks of the Carron. On the right side of the Carron, the country, otherways almost level, rises into a little hill, about midway between Dunipace and the chapel. At the bend of the angle the remains of a small city are yet visible, but the foundation of the walls, and the direction of the streets are now rendered indistinct, partly in consequence of the progress of agricultural improvement, and partly by gentlemen carrying away the square stones for the construction of villas in the neighbourhood. This city the English Bede expressly calls Guidi, and places it in the angle of the wall of Severus.<sup>2</sup>

Many celebrated Roman writers mention this wall; many vestiges are extant; many engraved stones are dug out, on which are inscribed, either the record of some deliverance

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 73. <sup>2</sup> The "small city" here meant is Camelon, identified by some antiquaries with the Roman Ad Vallum.

experienced by tribunes or centurions, or some monumental epitaph. Since then the wall of Severus never approached within a hundred miles of that of Hadrian, which was built long before it, as the remains of both show, the English historians<sup>1</sup> have either ignorantly misunderstood what the Latin authors said about the subject, or they have carelessly confounded what was plainly written, in whichever case, they appear to me to be worthy, if not of severe reprehension, at least of a slight admonition; especially as from the monuments just mentioned, and the history of Bede, it is quite evident that there formerly was the boundary between the Britons and the Scots. Those who fabulously assert Camelodunum<sup>2</sup> to have been situated here, likewise contend that the little temple we have mentioned, was the temple of Claudius Cæsar; in both of which they err most egregiously; for, Camelodunum, the Roman colony, was three hundred miles distant from that place, if any credit is to be attached either to Ptolemy, or to the Itinerary<sup>3</sup> of Antoninus. Tacitus, too, exposes most distinctly this error of theirs throughout the whole of his narrative, but particularly in that passage where, speaking of the fall of Camelodunum, he says, "The Romans, who fled, found refuge in the temple of Claudius Cæsar." But this little chapel, or temple of Terminus, or monument of anything else, appears never to have been furnished with doors, and above was open and exposed to attack from the throwing of stones; besides, it could hardly contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Nay more, Julius Agricola, almost forty years after the expedition of Claudius, was the first of the Romans who penetrated into these parts! And Hadrian, fifty years after Agricola, settled the bounds of the province by a rampart, extending from the Tyne to the Esk, of which the traces remain in many places to this day! But Septimius Severus, A.D. two hundred and ten, passed into Britain, and, advancing beyond the limits fixed by Hadrian, built a wall extending from the Frith of Clyde to the confluence of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 9. <sup>2</sup> Now identified with Colchester, as the capital of the Trinobantes (Smith, *Classical Dictionary*). <sup>3</sup> This is a geographical work containing the names of all the places and stations on the principal and cross roads of the Roman empire, with their distances from each other in Roman miles. It is usually ascribed to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; but it more probably embodies the results of a survey originated by Julius Caesar.



the Avon and Forth, of which numerous and perspicuous indications are still visible. And, moreover, we nowhere find, in ancient monuments, that Camelodunum was ever the capital of the Picts, Abernethy having been both the royal residence and the seat of the church primate, which afterwards was translated to St. Andrews. But, if it be asked what induced the Romans to lead a colony thither before the country was subdued, and how they subsisted in so sterile, woody, and uncultivated a region as it then was, and exposed to the daily attacks of their fiercest enemies? I suppose it will be answered—and I see no other answer that can be given—the ease with which they could be supplied by sea; for the ships then sailed to the very gates of the city, although against the current of the Carron. But if this were true, then it necessarily follows that the fields on both sides of the Forth must have been covered by the ocean, and, of consequence that that tract must have been barren, where yet the corn for their support ought to have been grown. But a more difficult question still occurs. Why, when the sea came up over both sides of the Forth, why did not the Romans finish the wall there, rather than with superfluous labour carry it on so many miles inland?

Beyond Stirling lies the county of Lennox, divided from the barony of Renfrew by the river Clyde; and from that of Glasgow by the Kelvin; from the county of Stirling by mountains; and from the stewartry<sup>1</sup> of Monteith by the Forth: it terminates at the Grampian hills, at whose base, in a hollow valley, Loch Lomond extends twenty-four miles in length, and eight in breadth. This lake contains twenty-four islands, and abounds in fish. Besides a great variety of other kinds, it possesses one of a peculiar species, and very delicious flavour, which they call the pollack.<sup>2</sup> From a southern outlet it pours forth the river Leven, whence the county derives its name, and which falls into the Clyde near the castle and town of Dumbarton. The last of the Grampians, which form the extreme boundary of Lennoxshire, are cut as it were in two, by a small inlet of the sea, called Loch Gare, on account of its shortness.<sup>3</sup> Beyond that there is a much

<sup>1</sup> *Præfectura*. <sup>2</sup> *Pollacas vocant*. This appears to be the same fish as that already noted in connection with Lochmaben. See above, p. 68. <sup>3</sup> Gaelic, *gearr*, short.



larger bay, named Loch Long, from the river Long, which runs into it, and forms the boundary between Lennox and Cowal. Cowal, Argyle, and Knapdale, are indented by many arms of the sea, running inland from the Frith of Clyde. The most remarkable of which, Loch Fyne, so called from the river Fine, is upwards of sixty miles in length. There is also a lake in Knapdale, Loch Awe, containing a small island with a fortified castle<sup>1</sup> upon it, whence issues the river Awe, the only one in that country that empties itself into the Deucaledonian sea. Beyond Knapdale, Cantyre stretches to the south-west, and is the headland of the country opposite Ireland, from which it is divided by a narrow strait. It is longer than it is broad, and is joined to Knapdale by an isthmus of sand, scarcely a mile across, so low that the sailors often drag their vessels over it, in order to shorten their navigation. Lorn skirts Knapdale and Argyle, and even extends to Lochaber, a plain and not unfruitful country.

here the Grampians are lower and more pervious, the country is called Braidalbane,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, the highest part of Scotland; and, where it there reaches its loftiest elevation, it is called Drum Albane, that is the back of Scotland.<sup>3</sup> Nor without cause; for, from that back, several rivers flow towards both seas, some to the south, and some to the north. Out of loch Earn, the river Earn glides in a south-easterly direction, and mingles with the Tay about three miles below Perth. From this river, the low land lying on both banks receives its appellation Strathearn; Strath,<sup>4</sup> in the ancient Scottish<sup>5</sup> language, being usually applied to the vale through which a river takes its course. Between the mountains of this country and the Forth lies the stewartry of Monteith, receiving its name from the Teith, which runs through the midst of it. The Ochil hills come next, a considerable part of which, together with the country adjoining their base, is considered as belonging to the stewartry of Strathearn; but the remainder, reaching to the

<sup>1</sup> Ardechonnell Castle, in island of Innischonnell, in Loch Awe, a stronghold of the Campbells. <sup>2</sup> Gael., *Bràigh*, the upper part of anything or place. <sup>3</sup> The *Dorsum Britanniae* mentioned above, p. 10. <sup>4</sup> Gael., *srath*. <sup>5</sup> Gael.

Frith, ambition has divided into three shires,<sup>1</sup> Clackmannan, Culross, and Kinross. All the country to the eastward of these sheriffdoms and the Ochils, washed on either side by the Forth or the Tay, stretches, in the figure of a wedge, towards the ocean. This is called by the name Fife, and abounds in everything necessary for the support of life. It is divided at the broadest part by Loch Leven, from whence it contracts itself on each side to the town of Crail. There is in it only one river worthy of notice, the Leven. Its whole shores are studded with numerous towns, of which the most eminent, being distinguished for its university, is St. Andrews, called by the ancient Scots St. Regulus. Inland, and almost in the centre of the county, lies Cupar, whither the rest of the Fifeans come for the administration of justice. Where this county meets Strathearn stands Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Picts, near to the confluence of the Earn and the Tay.

The Tay, issuing from loch Tay, a lake in Braidalbane, twenty-four miles in length, is undoubtedly the largest of the Scottish rivers. Bending toward the Grampian<sup>2</sup> is, it leaves the county of Athole, a fertile region, situate<sup>3</sup> in the heart of the Grampian forest, part of which, at the foot of the mountains, spreading into a plain, is called *Blair*<sup>2</sup> in Athol, which word signifies a soil free from trees. Below Athol, on the right bank of the Tay, is situate the town Caledonia, still retaining its ancient name, although vulgarly called *Dunkeld*<sup>3</sup>—the hill of Hazel trees; for here the hazel tree spreads itself widely in these uncultivated places, and, having covered the country with shady woods, gave a name both to the town and to the tribe. Indeed the nation of the Caledons, or Caledonians, formerly the most illustrious among the Britons, constituted one part of the kingdom of the Picts, which Ammianus Marcellinus divides into the Caledons, and the Vecturions, of whom, now, scarcely the wreck of a name remains. Beneath Caledonia about twelve miles, on the same right bank, is Perth. On the left bank below Athole, looking towards the east, lies the Carse of Gowrie, a noble corn country. Beyond this again, between the Tay and the Esk,

<sup>1</sup> *Præfecturas*. <sup>2</sup> Gael., *blàr*, a plain. <sup>3</sup> This is as probable as the modern derivation *dun-calden*, fort of the Keledei or Culdees.

extends the county of Angus, or, as the ancient Scots term it, *Æneia*, by some called *Horrestia*, and by the English *Forrestia*. In this tract are the cities of Cupar and Dundee, which Boethius,<sup>1</sup> desirous of gratifying his countrymen, calls *Deidonum*, but of which, I think, the ancient name was *Taodunum*, that is a hill near the Tay, *Dun* signifying a hill, at the bottom of which the town is built. Beyond the Tay, about fourteen miles further, direct along the shore, we meet with *Aberbrothick*, or *Arbroath*, then the promontory of *Redhead*, conspicuous at a great distance. The river *South Esk* intersects this district, and another, the *North Esk*, separates it from the *Mearns*. The face of the country is, for the most part, champaign and level, till beyond *Fordun*, and *Dunnottar*, a castle of the earl *Marischals*, where it meets the *Grampians*. From thence it declines, sloping gradually towards the sea.

Beyond the *Mearns*, toward the north, is the mouth of the river *Deva*, commonly called *Dee*; and not quite a mile beyond the *Dee*, is the river *Don*. Upon the one stands *Abredonia*, famous for its salmon fishery, and upon the other are the Episcopal see and two flourishing universities. This last I find, in old records, styled *Abredea*, but both places have the common appellation *Aberdeen*, and are distinguished from each other by the epithets *old* and *new*.<sup>2</sup> At a little distance, between these rivers, the county of *Mar* begins; narrow at first, but widening by degrees, it extends for the space of sixty miles, till it reaches *Badenoch*. *Badenoch* is wholly mountainous, and sends forth rivers into both the east and west seas. *Aber*,<sup>3</sup> joined to *Badenoch*, and sloping gently towards the *Deucaledonian* sea, is a region—for a Scottish one—remarkably rich in the products both of the water and of the land; and, besides being happily adapted for tillage and pasture, it is rendered delightful from the shady groves, and the pleasant rivulets and fountains with which it is adorned. In fish, it excels every other country of Scotland; for, over and above the immense quantities which so many rivers afford, the sea also bountifully contributes her supply: passing

<sup>1</sup> Hector Boece. See above, p. 77. <sup>2</sup> The form in Latin was *Abredonia*, and the vernacular name assumed the various forms of *Aberdaen*, *Aberdon*, *Aberdin*, *Aberdene* and *Abyrdene*. <sup>3</sup> *Lochaber*. See below.

through the lowlands by a long channel, it is stopped by the higher ground, where it expands itself and forms a kind of gulf, or rather loch, whence, it is called Aber; Aber, in the language of the country, signifying a bay or road for a ship,<sup>1</sup> and the same name is given to the region lying in the immediate vicinity. Those who in English apply the term to both, that is, to the arm of the sea, and to the country, absurdly enough, call them Lochaber. These three countries, of Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, comprehend the whole breadth of Scotland between the two seas, the German, and the Western ocean.

On the north, next to Marr, stands Buchan, divided from it by the river Don. Of all the counties of Scotland this stretches farthest along the German Ocean. It is pretty well supplied with pasture, has a good breed of sheep, and is capable of affording all the other necessities of life, in sufficient quantity for its own consumpt. The rivers abound with salmon, except the Rattray, which none of that species enters. On the coast there is a cave deserving of particular notice.<sup>2</sup> The water as it distils drop by drop from a natural arch, is converted into pyramids of stone, and unless the cave were frequently cleared, the whole space would soon be completely filled. The stone which is thus formed, is somewhat of a nature between ice and rock, but it is brittle, and never attains to the hardness of marble. When I was at Toulouse, in the year 1544, I was informed, by persons of undoubted veracity, that there is a cave perfectly similar to the above, in the neighbouring Pyrenees.

North from Buchan are two small regalities,<sup>3</sup> Boindie, and Enzie, that reach to the river Spey, which separates them from Moray. The Spey rises in the ridge of Badenoch, already noticed, and not far distant from its source is a loch, from whence the river Lochy<sup>4</sup> rushes in a westerly direction to the ocean. At the mouth of the river a magnificent city is said to have flourished formerly, called Innerlochtee, and indeed, whether we consider the nature of the soil in the neighbourhood, or its convenience for navigation and sea carriage, the place appears admirably adapted for a com-

<sup>1</sup> *Abar*, a bog, mentioned as obsolete in Macleod and Dewar's *Gaelic Dictionary*, which, I am informed, however, is not a satisfactory authority.

<sup>2</sup> The Dropping Cave of Slains. See above, p. 76. <sup>3</sup> *Regiunculæ*.

<sup>4</sup> Buchanan here again corrects Boece. See above, p. 73.



mercial station. Induced by these advantages, for several ages, our ancient kings inhabited there the castle of Evonia, which some now imagine was the same as Dunstaffnage, although the vestiges and rubbish of that castle are still shown in Lorn. There are some small regalities between Buchan and the Western Sea, but as they contain nothing remarkable, or worthy of relating, it is not necessary I should stop to describe them.

Moray, or Varar, as it is thought to have been formerly called, reaches from the Spey as far as the Ness. Between these rivers the German Ocean, driving back as it were the land towards the west, with a vast arm abridges its extent. So abundant is this district in corn and pasturage, and so much beautified, as well as enriched, by fruit trees, that it may truly be pronounced the first county in Scotland. It has two towns worthy of notice, Elgin, near the river Lossie, which still retains its ancient name, and Inverness, which has its appellation from the Ness. This river flows from Loch Ness, a lake twenty-four miles long. The waters of this lake are almost always tepid, nor ever so cold at any time as to congeal; and, even in the hardest winter, if a fragment of ice be thrown into it, it is speedily dissolved by the warmth of the water. Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, the main land extends only about eight miles, so slender is the isthmus which prevents the two seas from joining, and rendering the rest of Scotland a separate island, and all the space, likewise, between this isthmus and the Deucealedonian Sea is much intersected by bays running inland.

The country lying beyond the Ness and the isthmus used to be divided into four provinces. Beyond where the Ness disembogues itself into the German Ocean is Ross-shire, running out into the sea in lofty promontories, which the name itself indicates, for Ross, in the Scottish tongue, signifies a promontory. It is upon the whole longer than it is broad; for it reaches from the German to the Deucealedonian Sea. That part which rises into mountains is rough and uncultivated; but that which extends into plains is scarcely inferior to any country in Scotland for fertility. It has some pleasant valleys, watered with fine trouting streams, and several well stored lakes, the largest of which is Loch Broom.



The shore recedes gradually from the Deucaledonian Sea, and inclines back towards the north-east. On the opposite coast the German Ocean, opening a way to itself among the stupendous cliffs of the most lofty rocks, expands within into a spacious basin, affording a safe harbour and certain refuge against every tempest; for the passage is not difficult, and, once entered, the largest fleets may ride secure from winds and waves. At the northernmost extremity of Ross-shire lies Naver, named from the river Naver, which, following the country dialect, is commonly called Strathnavern. It is bounded on the south by Ross-shire, the Deucaledonian Sea washes it on the north-west, and on the east it reaches to Caithness. Sutherlandshire is so situated in the midst of all these counties, that it borders on them all, and on one side or other touches some of them; for it has Strathnavern on the west, Ross-shire on the south and east, and Caithness on the north. The inhabitants, from the nature of the country, are more devoted to pasturage than tillage. There is nothing remarkable in this county, that I know of, except mountains of white marble,<sup>1</sup> a thing wonderfully rare in cold countries, but almost of no use, the refinement which requires this luxury not yet having spread thus far.

Caithness is the last county of Scotland, towards the north, on which side Strathnavern runs together with it; and with these two districts, the breadth of Scotland contracts into a narrow front. On this front rise three promontories. The highest, in Naver, is, according to Ptolemy, Orcas, or Tarvedum; the other two, somewhat lower, are in Caithness, Vervedrum, now Hoy,<sup>2</sup> and Berbium, imperfectly named Dume, by Hector Boethius, now commonly called Dunsbie, otherwise Duncans bei, of which Duns-bei seems to be a contraction; for, at the foot of the hill is a little bay, which vessels coming from the Orkneys use as a harbour, and there a bay is commonly called bei. When this bay, therefore, was called by the neighbouring inhabitants Duncan's or Donach's bay, from either of these words conjoined, the country language derived Duns-bei. In this district Ptolemy places the Cornavii, of whose name some traces yet remain; for the castle of the earls of Caithness is still vulgarly called

<sup>1</sup> Gneiss. <sup>2</sup> See above, p. 74.

Gernico;<sup>1</sup> and those who were called Cornavii, by Ptolemy, and other foreigners, seem to have been called Kernici, by the Britons; and not in this district only, but in the most opposite extremity of the island, Cornwall; where Ptolemy, likewise, places the same Cornavii, and whom those who retain the ancient British language call Kernic at this day. Nor may it, perhaps, be deemed ridiculous to suppose, that the Cornovalli is a name substituted for Kernicovalli, that is the Kernic Gauls. And, even in the midst of the island, some obscure vestiges of this name still remain. Thus Beda writes, that the commencement of the wall of Severus was not far distant from the Monastery of Kebercurnig,<sup>2</sup> of which monastery not a vestige remains. Not far distant, however, stands the half ruined castle of the Douglasses called Abercorn,<sup>3</sup> but whether both of these words, or any of them, be a corruption of Kernic, I leave to the reader to determine.

It now remains that I say something concerning the islands, that part of the British history which is involved in the greatest confusion. Setting aside, therefore, the more ancient writers, from whom it is impossible to extract any information, I shall follow the writers of our own time, upon whose accuracy and veracity more reliance may be placed. The islands, which, as it were, surround Scotland, form three distinct classes, the Western, the Orcades, and the Zetland isles. Those are called the Western isles which are spread over the Deucaledonian sea, on the west side of Scotland, from Ireland almost to the Orcades. The British historians, of the last and the present age, commonly style them the Hebrides, certainly a new name, of whose origin no trace can be found among ancient writers. In that part of the ocean some place the Æbudæ, or Æmodæ; but they are at so much variance among themselves, that they scarcely ever agree in situation, number, or name. Strabo,<sup>4</sup> to begin with the oldest, may perhaps be excused for having followed uncertain report,

<sup>1</sup> Castle Girnigoe, the stronghold of the Sinclairs, Earls of Caithness. The date of the original castle is unknown; but additions were made to it in the 16th century. <sup>2</sup> Aebbercurnig or Eoriercorn, founded about 675 under St. Wilfrid as a centre for the administration of the northern part of his diocese. <sup>3</sup> Abercorn Castle, in Linlithgowshire, was taken by James II. from the 9th and last Earl of Douglas in 1454. Only a green mound now marks its position. <sup>4</sup> *Fl.* during the first century.

that part of the world not having then been sufficiently explored. Mela<sup>1</sup> enumerates seven Hemodæ, Martianus Capella as many Acmodæ, Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> and Solinus<sup>3</sup> five Æbudæ, and Pliny seven Acmodæ, and thirty Æbudæ. I shall retain the name most frequently used by the ancients, and designate the whole of the Western Islands Æbudæ. Their site, relative condition, and produce, I shall describe from more recent and more certain authority; following chiefly Donald Monro,<sup>4</sup> a pious and diligent man, who went over the whole of them himself, and minutely inspected them in person. They lie scattered in the Deucalionian Sea, upwards of three hundred in number, and from time immemorial belonged to the kings of the Scots, until the time of Donald, the brother of Malcolm the third, who ceded them to the king of Norway, in order to obtain his assistance in his unjust usurpation of the Scottish crown. The Danes and Norwegians retained them for about one hundred and sixty years, until being vanquished in a decisive battle by Alexander the Third, of Scotland, they restored them. Sometimes, however, trusting to their strength, and enticed into seditions, the islanders have asserted their liberty, and erected kings of their own. Among others, John, of the family of Donald, lately usurped the royal title.

In their food, clothing, and in the whole of their domestic economy, they adhere to ancient parsimony.<sup>5</sup> Hunting and fishing, supply them with food. They boil the flesh with water poured into the paunch or the skin of the animal they kill, and in hunting sometimes they eat the flesh raw, merely squeezing out the blood. They drink the juice of the boiled flesh. At their feasts they sometimes use whey, after it has been kept for several years, and even drink it greedily; that species of liquor they call bland,<sup>6</sup> but the greater part quench their thirst with water. They make a kind of bread, not unpleasant to the taste, of oats and barley, the only grain cultivated in these regions, and, from long practice, they have attained considerable skill in moulding the cakes. Of this they eat a little in the morning, and then contentedly go

<sup>1</sup> Pomponius Mela, the first Roman author who composed a formal treatise on Geography. *FL.* under the Emperor Claudius. <sup>2</sup> *FL.* during the second century. <sup>3</sup> *FL.* during the third century. <sup>4</sup> See below, p. 236. <sup>5</sup> Simplicity.

<sup>6</sup> It is still in general use in Shetland.

out a hunting, or engage in some other occupation, frequently remaining without any other food till the evening. They delight in variegated garments, especially striped, and their favourite colours are purple and blue. Their ancestors wore plaids of many different colours, and numbers still retain this custom, but the majority, now, in their dress, prefer a dark brown, imitating nearly the leaves of the heather, that when lying upon the heath in the day, they may not be discovered by the appearance of their clothes; in these, wrapped rather than covered, they brave the severest storms in the open air, and sometimes lay themselves down to sleep even in the midst of snow. In their houses, also, they lie upon the ground; stréwing fern, or heath, on the floor, with the roots downward and the leaves turned up. In this manner they form a bed so pleasant, that it may vie in softness with the finest down, while in salubrity it far exceeds it; for heath, naturally possessing the power of absorption, drinks up the superfluous moisture, and restores strength to the fatigued nerves, so that those who lie down languid and weary in the evening, arise in the morning vigorous and sprightly. They have all, not only the greatest contempt for pillows, or blankets, but, in general, an affectation of uncultivated roughness and hardihood, so that when choice or necessity induces them to travel in other countries, they throw aside the pillows, and blankets of their hosts, and wrapping themselves round with their own plaids, thus go to sleep, afraid lest these barbarian luxuries, as they term them, should contaminate their native simple hardiness. Their defensive armour consists of an iron headpiece, and a coat of mail, formed of small iron rings, and frequently reaching to the heels. Their weapons are, for the most part, a bow, and arrows barbed with iron, which cannot be extracted without widely enlarging the orifice of the wound; but a few carry swords or Lochaber axes. Instead of a trumpet, they use a bagpipe. They are exceedingly fond of music, and employ harps of a peculiar kind, some of which are strung with brass, and some with catgut. In playing they strike the wires either with a quill, or with their nails, suffered to grow long for the purpose; but their grand ambition is to adorn their harps with great quantities of silver and gems,

those who are too poor to afford jewels substituting crystals in their stead. Their songs are not inelegant, and, in general, celebrate the praises of brave men; their bards seldom choosing any other subject. They speak the ancient Gaelic language a little altered.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As Monro's description of the Hebrides is given below, it is unnecessary to give that of Buchanan, who simply followed him.



## DONALD MONRO

(1549).<sup>1</sup>

LITTLE is known of Donald Monro, the author of the following account of the Western Isles of Scotland. A scion of the house of Coul, a branch of the family of the Monros, he came to hold the office of High Dean of these islands under the Pre-Reformation Church of Scotland. In this capacity he, in 1549, made that pastoral round of which his "Description" is the memorial. At the Reformation he accepted the new order, and in June 1563 was appointed by the Assembly to plant kirks within the bounds of Ross, and to assist Robert, Bishop of Caithness, in similar labours. In this task he showed no special ability, as complaint was made before the Assembly "that he was not so apt to teach as his charge required." His commission was last renewed in August 1573, though on the 5th July 1570 it had been stated that "he was not prompt in the Scottish tongue."<sup>2</sup> While thus filling the office of Superintendent, it would seem that he also did duty as minister of Kiltarn in Ross-shire, from which charge he was removed to that of Lynmlair about the year 1574. According to tradition "he lived in Castle Craig, crossed the Firth by boats, and preached on the Lord's day."<sup>3</sup>

Monro's description of the Western Islands has been thrice printed—in each case without notes or any attempt to identify the various places he enumerates.<sup>4</sup> In the Advocates' Library there are two MSS. of the "Description," both of which I have collated with the following

<sup>1</sup> Monro's description is given here out of its chronological order, because it forms the natural supplement to Buchanan's description of the mainland.

<sup>2</sup> For two reasons we must suppose that by "Scottish tongue" is meant Gaelic. In the districts assigned to Monro, Gaelic and not Scots was spoken, and the "Description" itself is proof that he must have been familiar with the language of the Lowlands. <sup>3</sup> These facts regarding Monro are taken from the *Old Statist. Acct. of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 298, and Scott's *Fasti*, vol. v. pp. 299, 302.

<sup>4</sup> Edinburgh, William Auld, 1774; *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. ii., Glasgow, 1818; Thomas D. Morison, Glasgow, 1884.

reprint.<sup>1</sup> As Monro's little book is interesting at once to the antiquary, the geographer, and the philologist, it seemed worth while to make the attempt to identify the islands he mentions, and to give their names as they respectively appear in Blaeu's Atlas in the 17th century, and in the modern maps of the Ordnance Survey. As has been said, it was from Monro, whom he describes as "a pious and careful person,"<sup>2</sup> that Buchanan derived his information regarding the Hebrides. But though Buchanan's description is the more flowing narrative, by the minuteness of its detail and the language in which it is written, Monro's own account has a far higher historical value.

Another "Description of the Isles of Scotland,"<sup>3</sup> drawn up towards the end of the 16th century, is printed by Mr Skene in the Appendix to Vol. iii. of his *Celtic Scotland*. The writer, whoever he was, apparently knew nothing of Monro's "Description," and his object seems to have been to produce a report for some special purpose of the government. From a casual remark he makes we may infer that he had not himself visited the islands he describes. While Monro has tried to make as complete a list as possible of the entire archipelago, the anonymous writer selects only the more important, specially noting the number of men they could furnish, and the quality and quantity of the crops they produced. From two facts referred to in this description, Mr Skene places its date between 1577 and 1595. From the fact that the writer is ignorant of Monro, however, we may conjecture that it was written before 1582, the date of the publication of Buchanan's *History of Scotland*. As has been said, Buchanan quotes Monro as his authority for his own account of the Western Islands; and it may be surmised that no person likely to be entrusted with drawing up a government report would be ignorant of the publication of a history which was an event of European importance in the world of letters. A more famous description of the Western Islands than those of Monro, or this anonymous writer, is that of Martin, which was published in 1703. But though

<sup>1</sup> As these MSS. differ considerably, I have followed each according as it seemed to present the better reading. <sup>2</sup> *Rev. Scotic. Hist.*, p. 13. <sup>3</sup> The MS. of this Description is in the Advocates' Library.

Martin has the credit of inspiring Dr Johnson with his desire of visiting the Hebrides, his description has neither the accuracy nor fulness of Monro's; and referring, as it does, to a period a century and a half later is also inferior in the point of historic value. We have, therefore, no hesitation in reproducing Monro in preference to Martin in the present collection.

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#### DESCRIPTION OF THE WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND.

FIRST in the Ireland seas, forment<sup>1</sup> the poynt of Galloway, neirest betwixt Scotland, England, and Ireland, lyes the first iyle of the saids isles, called in Latine tongue Mona<sup>2</sup> and Sodora,<sup>3</sup> in English Man, in Erishe Manain, whilks sometime, as auld historiographers sayes, was wont to be the seat first ordynit by Fynan<sup>4</sup> king of Scottis to the priests and the philosophers called in Latine Druides, in English Culdeis and Kildeis, that is, worshippers of God, in Erish Leid<sup>5</sup> Draiche, quhilks were the first teachers of religion in Albion, quherinto is the cathedrall of the bishop of Man and Isles dedicate, in the honour of St Peter the apostle. This ile is twenty-four myles lang and eight myles braid, with twa castellis.

2. ELSAY.<sup>6</sup> Northwart from this ile of Man, sixty myles off, layes Elsay, an iyl of ane myle lange, quherin is ane grate high hill,<sup>7</sup> round and roughe, and ane heavin,<sup>8</sup> and als<sup>9</sup> abundance of Soland geise, and ane small poynt of ane nesse, quherat the fishing bottis lyis; for in the same ile is verey good killing,<sup>10</sup> ling, and uther whyte fishes. Forment this ile layes Carrick on the southeast pairt, Ireland on the southwest pairt, and the landes of Kintyre on the west and northwest pairt; the said Elsay being neir hand midsea betwixt the said marches.

<sup>1</sup> Opposite. <sup>2</sup> Now identified with Anglesea and not (as formerly) with the Isle of Man. <sup>3</sup> A corruption of Suderei, southern island, so-called by the Norwegians. In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for 1876 and 1882 there are papers on the place-names of the Hebrides by Captain Thomas.

<sup>4</sup> This act of Finan, who died B.C. 107, is duly recorded by Bishop Leslie (*De Origine, Moribus, &c., Scotorum*, p. 90, edit. 1578). <sup>5</sup> Language. <sup>6</sup> Ailsa Craig. <sup>7</sup> 1114 feet high. <sup>8</sup> Haven. <sup>9</sup> Also. <sup>10</sup> Cod.

3. ARRAN. Be north or northeist fra this ile, twenty-four myles of sea, lies Arran, ane grate ile, full of grate montains and forrests, good for hunting, with pairt of woods, extending in lenthe from the Kyle of Arran to Castle Dounan<sup>1</sup> southwart to twenty-four myles, and from the Kyle of Drumdoun<sup>2</sup> to the Ness of Kilbride,<sup>3</sup> sixteen myles of breadthe, inhabit onlie at the sea coasts. Herein are three castils; ane callit Braizay,<sup>4</sup> pertening to the Earle of Arran; ane uther auld house callit the castle of the heid of Lochrenasay,<sup>5</sup> pertyning likeways to the said Earle; and the third callit castle Dounan, pertaining to ane of the Stuarts of Bute's blood, callit Mr. James;<sup>6</sup> he and his bluid are the best men in that countrey. In Arran is a loche callit Lochrenasay, with three or four small waters: two paroch kirks, the ane callit Kilbride, the uther callit Kylmure.<sup>7</sup> Fornent this ile layes the coste of Kyle in the east and southeist, be ten or twelve myles of sea in the north, Bute, be eight myles of sea in the west Skibness,<sup>8</sup> pertening to the Erle of Argyle.

4. FLADA.<sup>9</sup> 5. MOLASS.<sup>10</sup> Upone the shore of this iyle lyes Flada, ane little iyle full of cunings,<sup>11</sup> with ane uther little ile callit the yle of Molass, quherin there was foundit by Johne, Lord of the iles, ane monastery of friars, which is decayit.

6. BUITT.<sup>12</sup> The yle of Buitt lyes, as we have said before, eight myles of sea to the northeist of Arran, ane mayne<sup>13</sup> iyle, eight myle lange from the north to southe, and four myle braid fra the west to the eist, very fertyle ground, namelie<sup>14</sup> for aitts,<sup>15</sup> with twa strenthes; the ane is the round castle of Buitt, callit Rosay<sup>16</sup> of the auld, and Borrowstone<sup>17</sup> about it callit Buitt. Before the town and castle is ane bay of sea, quhilk is a gude heavin for ships to ly upon ankers.

<sup>1</sup> Kildonan Castle. <sup>2</sup> Drumadoon Bay. <sup>3</sup> Clauchlands Point in parish of Kilbride. <sup>4</sup> Brodick; in Fordun, Brethwyk. <sup>5</sup> Lochranza, mentioned as a hunting-seat of the Scottish kings as early as 1380. Only a square tower now remains. <sup>6</sup> James Stewart, Sheriff and Chamberlain of Bute. <sup>7</sup> Now Kilmorie (Gaelic *Cillmhoire*, Church of St Mary's). <sup>8</sup> Skipness in Kintyre. <sup>9</sup> Pladda at the southern extremity of Arran. <sup>10</sup> Now Holy Island, in Gaelic still called *Eilean Mòlaise*, i.e., the Isle of Molaisi. <sup>11</sup> Rabbits. <sup>12</sup> Bute. In Skene's "Description," *Boyd*. <sup>13</sup> Large. <sup>14</sup> Especially. <sup>15</sup> Oats. <sup>16</sup> Rothesay. <sup>17</sup> I.e., the burgh town of Bute.

That uther castle is callit the castle of Kames,<sup>1</sup> quhilck Kames in Erishe is alsmeikle as to say in English the bay Castle. In this ile ther is twa parochie kirks, that ane southe callit the kirk of Bride,<sup>2</sup> the uther northe in the Borrowstone of Buitt, with twa chappells, ane of them above the towne of Buitt, the uther<sup>3</sup> under the forsaid castle of Kames. On the north and northwest of this ile, be half myle of sea, lyes the coast of Ergyle; on the east syde of it the coast of Cuninghame, be six myle of sea.

7. INCHE MERNOCHE.<sup>4</sup> On the west southwest of it lyes ane little iyle callit Inch Mernocke, twa myle frae sea, low mayne ground, weill inhabit and manurit,<sup>5</sup> ane myle lange and half myle breadthe.

8. CUMBRA.<sup>6</sup> On the eist and southeist lyes ane yle callit Cumbray, inhabit and manurit, three myle in lenth and ane myle in breadthe, with ane kirk callit Sanct Colmis kirke.

9. CUMBRAY DAIS.<sup>7</sup> Besides this lyes ane iyle callit Cumbray of the Dais,<sup>8</sup> because there is many Dayis intill it.

10. AVOYN.<sup>9</sup> Before the south poynt of the promontory of Kyntyre, lyes be ane myle of sea, ane iyle neire ane myle lange, callit the iyle Avoyn, quhilck iyle is obtained that name fra the armies of Denmark, quhilckis armies callit it in their leid Havin. It is inhabit and manurit, and guid for shippis to lay one ankers.

11. CARRITH SKEATHE.<sup>10</sup> Fornent this iyle, one the shore of Kintyre, lays ane iyle with a castle, namet Carrick Skeath, with ane little water, quherin is ane guid havin for small bottis.

12. RACHLAIUN.<sup>11</sup> On the southwest frae the promontory of Kyntyre, uppon the coast of Irland, be four myle to land, layes an iyle callit Rachlaine, pertaining to Irland, and possessit thir money zeires<sup>12</sup> by Clan Donald of Kyntyre, four myles longe and twa myle braid, guid land, inhabit and manurit.

<sup>1</sup> Kames (Gael. *Camus*, a bay) Castle, long a seat of the Bannatynes. John Sterling, the friend of Carlyle, was born here. <sup>2</sup> Is this the Church of St Blane (see Muir, p. 6)? <sup>3</sup> Church of St Colmac. <sup>4</sup> Inch Marnock. <sup>5</sup> Cultivated. <sup>6</sup> Greater Cumbræ. <sup>7</sup> Little Cumbræ. <sup>8</sup> Does. <sup>9</sup> Sanda. See above, p. 131. <sup>10</sup> Carskey. <sup>11</sup> Rathlin or Rachlin. In Skene's "Description," Rauchlynne. "In Rathlin," says the author, "thair is ane auld castell, verie strenthie, callit the Auld Castell." <sup>12</sup> Years.



13. CARAY.<sup>1</sup> Upon the northwest coist of Kyntyre, be four myle of sea to the same, lyes ane little iyle, with a chapel in it, callit Caray, guid for quhite fishes, abundance of cunnings, inhabit and manurit; mair nor<sup>2</sup> ane myle lange and ane haffe myle braid.

14. GIGAY.<sup>3</sup> At the heid of the iyle Caray, there fra northeast, lyes ane iyle callit Gigay, six myle lange, an myle and an half myle breidth, with ane parochie kirke,<sup>4</sup> guid fertile mainland, it has therein abundance of eddirs.<sup>5</sup> The auld thane of Gigay should be laird of the same, callit M'Neill of Gigay, and now it is possessit by the Clاندonald. Streitest<sup>6</sup> at the shore of Kintyre, from south west to northeast in length, four myle of sea from Kyntyre.

15. DURAY.<sup>7</sup> Nairest that iyle layes Duray, ane ather<sup>8</sup> fyne forrest for deire, inhabit and manurit at the coist syde, part be Clاندonald of Kyntyre, pairt be MacGullayne<sup>9</sup> of Douard, pairt be M'Gellayne<sup>10</sup> of Kinlochbuy, pairt be M'Duffithie<sup>11</sup> of Colvansay, ane iyle of twenty-four myle of length, lyand from the southwest to the northeast twale<sup>12</sup> myle of sea from Gigay above written, and ane myle from Ila, quhar is twa loches, meetand uthers throughe mide iyle, of salt water, to the lenthe of ane haff myle; and all the deire of the west pairt of that forrest, will be cahit<sup>13</sup> be tainchess<sup>14</sup> to that narrow entry, and the next day callit west againe, be tainchess through the said narrow entres, and infinit deire slaine there, pairt of small woods. This iyle, as the ancient iylanders alledges, should be callit Deiray, taking the name from the Deire in norne Leid,<sup>15</sup> quhilik has given it that name in auld times. In this iyle there is twa guid and save raids<sup>16</sup> for shipps, the ane callit Lubnalerie,<sup>17</sup> and the uther Loche Terbart,<sup>18</sup> fornent others. The greatest hills in this iyle are chiefie Bencheelis,<sup>19</sup> Bensenta,<sup>20</sup> Corben,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cara. The remains of its chapel still exist. <sup>2</sup> Than. <sup>3</sup> Gigha. In Skene's "Description," Geiza. <sup>4</sup> The Church of St Catan (Muir, p. 10). <sup>5</sup> Adders. <sup>6</sup> Narrowest. <sup>7</sup> Jura (Scand. *Dyr-ey*, deer island). <sup>8</sup> Another. <sup>9</sup> Maclean. <sup>10</sup> MacLaine. <sup>11</sup> M'Duffie or M'Phee. <sup>12</sup> Twelve. <sup>13</sup> Driven. <sup>14</sup> Drivers of the deer. Cf. Tainschell. <sup>15</sup> In Norse speech. <sup>16</sup> Roads. <sup>17</sup> Perhaps Lowlandman Bay. <sup>18</sup> Tarbert. <sup>19</sup> Beinn a' Chaolais, mountain of the sound. <sup>20</sup> Beinn Siantaidh. <sup>21</sup> Chorr bheinn. Beinn a' Cholais and Beinn an Oir are the "Paps of Jura."

Benannoyre<sup>1</sup> in Ardlaysay;<sup>2</sup> ane chappel, sometime the paroch kirke Kiternadill.<sup>3</sup> The watter of Lasay<sup>4</sup> ther, the watter of Udergan, the watter of Glongargister,<sup>5</sup> the waters of Knockbraik,<sup>6</sup> Lindill,<sup>7</sup> Caray,<sup>8</sup> Ananbilley; all thir waters salmond slaine upon them. This iyle is full of nobell coelts,<sup>9</sup> with certaine fresche water Loches, with meikell of profit.

16. SKARBAY.<sup>10</sup> Neiras this iyle, be twa myle, lyes ane iyle called Skarbay. Betwixt thir twa iyles ther runnes ane streame, above the power of all sailing and rowing, with infinit dangers, callit Corybrekan.<sup>11</sup> This stream is aught myle lang, quhilk may not be hantit<sup>12</sup> bot be certain tyds. This Skarbay is four myles lange from the west to the eist, and an myle breadth, ane high rough yle, inhabit and manurit, with some woods in it.

17. VELICHE. Niarest the iyle of Skarbay layes ane iyle, called in Erish Ellan Veliche, unto the northeist.

18. GILBRASTOL.<sup>13</sup> Narrest this lays the iyle Gilbrastoll, a very little iyle.

19. LUNGAY.<sup>14</sup> Narrest to the iyle of Gilbrastol lays the iyle called Lungay.

20. FIDLACHAILLE.<sup>15</sup> Narrest the iyle Lungay, thers ane iyle callit Fidlachaille.

21. FIDLAVIROW.<sup>16</sup> Narrest the iyle of Fidlachaille ther layes ane iyle, callit in Erische Fidlavirow.

22. GAROWHELLACH SHEAIN.<sup>17</sup> Narrest the iyle Fidlavirow ther layes an iyle, in Erische namit Garowhellach Skean.

23. GAROWHILLACH-NANRONOW. Narrist to this forsaied iyle layes ther ane rockie knobe,<sup>18</sup> namit in Erische Garowhillach-Nanronow.

24. NANAOSE.<sup>19</sup> Narrist to this iyle of Garowhellach-Nanronow layes ther a verey little iyle, callit in Erische Eluche Nanaose.

<sup>1</sup> Beinn an Oir is not in Ardlussa. The highest hill in the north part of the island of Jura is Beinn Bhreac. <sup>2</sup> Ardlussa; in Blaeu, Ard Lysa. <sup>3</sup> Cill Earnandail; in B., Kilaridil (see Muir, p. 17). <sup>4</sup> Lussa; in B., Ardlysa. <sup>5</sup> In B., Glengargaster, geographically corresponding with modern Glenbatrick, though the spelling of the word rather suggests Glengarisdale. <sup>6</sup> In B., Knockbreck. <sup>7</sup> Luindale. <sup>8</sup> Corran. <sup>9</sup> Colts. <sup>10</sup> Scarba. <sup>11</sup> Corrievreckin. <sup>12</sup> Approached. <sup>13</sup> Guirasdeal; in B., Gevrasdil. <sup>14</sup> Lunga. <sup>15</sup> Fiolan Meadhonach. <sup>16</sup> Rudha Fiolain. <sup>17</sup> Garvelloch Islands. <sup>18</sup> Knoll. <sup>19</sup> Eileacha Naomh.

25. CULIBRENNYN.<sup>1</sup> Narrest to the iylan Nanaose layes ther the small iyllan, callit in the Erische Leid Culibrenyn.

26. DUNCHONILL.<sup>2</sup> Dunchonill, ane iyle so namit from Conal Kernache, ane strenth, wich is alsmeike as to say in Englishe, ane round castle.

27. MADIE. Ellan Madie, in Erishe, layes betwixt Lungay, and being callit in Englishe the Wolfis iyle.

28. BELNACHNA.<sup>3</sup> Narrest the Wolfis iyle layes ane iyllane, callit in Erische Leid-Ellan-Belnachna, quharin ther is fair skailzie<sup>4</sup> aneuche.

29. VICKERAN. Narrest to the iyle of Belnachna layes the small iyle of Vickeran.

30. NAGAWNWA. Hard on the iyle Vyckeran layes ther a small iylan, namit in Erische Ellan-Nagaruwa.

31. LUNGE.<sup>5</sup> Lunge, three myle of lenthe, twa pairt myle of breadthe, with a paroch kirk,<sup>6</sup> guid main land, inhabit and manurit, guid for store and corn. Its possist be M'Gillayne of Doward,<sup>7</sup> in feu fra the earl of Ergile. It is a havin sufficient for Highland galeyis in it, layand from the southwest to northeist in lenthe.

32. SEILL. Narrest this iyle layes Seill, thre myle of lenthe, ane half myle breidth, leyand from the southwest to the northest, inhabit and manurit, guid for store and corne, pertaining to the Erl of Ergyle.

33. SEUNAY.<sup>8</sup> Narrest this iyle of Seill layes the iyle Seunay, twa myle in lenthe, and half myle in breadthe from southwest to northeist, inhabit and manurit, guid for gersing store,<sup>9</sup> and pertaining to the Erle of Ergyle.

34. SKLAITT. Narrest Seunay layes ther a litle iyle, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Sklaitt, quherein ther is abundance of skalzie to be win.<sup>10</sup>

35. NAWISSOGE. Narrest this iyle layes the small ile of Nawissogu, in Erish callit Ellan Nawissogue.

36. EISDCALFE. Narrest this layes ther the iyle Eisdcalfe, namit in the Erische Leid Ellan Eisdcalfe.

<sup>1</sup> A'Chuli; in B., Culurenin. <sup>2</sup> This name is still so pronounced; in B., Dunchonnel. <sup>3</sup> Belnahua; in B., Bheulnahu. <sup>4</sup> Slate. <sup>5</sup> Luing. In Skene's "Description," Loyng. <sup>6</sup> Near Kilchattan Bay (Muir, p. 21). <sup>7</sup> Duart. <sup>8</sup> Shuna; in B., Sivii. <sup>9</sup> For grazing cattle. <sup>10</sup> Procured. I have been unable to identify the islands numbered 27, 29, 30, 34.

37. INCHE KENYTH. Narrest this iyle layes ane iylland namit Inche Kenyth.

38.<sup>1</sup> INCHIAN. Narrest this iyle layes an iylland, namit in Erische Leid Ellan Inchian.

39. UDERGA. Narrest this forsaid iyl of Inchian layes ane uther verey small rock, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Uderga.

40. KING'S IYLE.<sup>2</sup> Narrest to the iyle Uderga layes ane iyle, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Reigh, that is in English the King's isle.

41. BLACK ISLE.<sup>3</sup> Narrest to the King's iyle layes ane isle, or rather a grate craig, callit in Erish Leid Ellan Duff, in English the Black isle.

42. KIRKE IYLE. Narrest the Blacke iyle layes ther ane iyle, callit in Erisch Leid Nahagleis, and in English the Kirke iyle.

43. CHREARACHE.<sup>4</sup> Narrest to this Kirk ile layes the iyle Chrearache.

44. ARDE. Narrest to Chrearache layes there ane iyle, callit in the Erische Leid Ellan Arde, in English the Highe iyle.

45. LAICH ILE. Narrest to the Arde layes ther ane iyle, callit in Erisch Leid Ellan Esill, in English the Laiche iyle.

46. GREINE IYLE. Narrest this Laiche ile layes ane iyle namit in Erish Leid Glassellan, that is in English the Green yland.

47. HEDDIR IYLE. Narrest the Green yle layes the yile which in the Erish is namit Freuch Ellan, or the Heddir yland.

48. HASIL IYLE. Narrest the Heddir iyle layes ther another, which in the Erish is callit Ellan-na-Crawiche.

49. GATIS IYLES. Narrest the Hasil iyle layes ane rockie scabrous iyle, callit in the Erishe Leid Ellan Nagonre, which in English is the Gaytis ile.

50. CONINGS ILE. Narrest to the Gaytis iyle layes ther a verey pretty little sandy ile, callit in the Erish Leid Ellan Nagenin, which in English is the Conings ile.

<sup>1</sup> Of the islands numbered from 38 to 53, Monro evidently spoke only from hearsay. The Ordnance Survey Map is here of little use. <sup>2</sup> Eilean Righ.

<sup>3</sup> Eilean Dubh. <sup>4</sup> In B., Craigenes.

51. IDYLE IYLE. Narrest the Conings iyle layes the iyle callit be the Erish Ellan Dravin, that is the Idyle iyle.

52. EISELL. Narrest the Idyle iyle layes ther a laiche small iyle, namit by the Erisch Ellan Eisell, or the Laich iyle.

53. URIDITHE. Narrest to the aforesaid iyland layes the ile of the Erisch themselves, called Uridithe.

54. LISMOIR.<sup>1</sup> Lismoir, ane iyle quher leid ure<sup>2</sup> is, fornent Douard. This iyle is four myle lang, with ane parochie kirke<sup>3</sup> in it.

55. ILA.<sup>4</sup> Nar this forsaid iyle, on the west side of it, layes Ila, ane ile of twentie mile lenthe from the north to the south, and sixteen myle in breadth from the eist to the west, fertil, fruitful, and full of natural grassing, with maney grate diere,<sup>5</sup> maney woods, faire games of hunting beside everey toun,<sup>6</sup> with ane watter callit Laxay,<sup>7</sup> wherupon maney salmon are slaine, with ane salt water loch callit Lochegunord,<sup>8</sup> quherin runs the water of Gyinord, with high sandey bankes, upon the quhilk bankes upon the sea lyes infinit selccheis,<sup>9</sup> whilkis are slain with doges learnt to the same effect.<sup>10</sup> In Ila is meikle lead ure in Mochyills.<sup>11</sup> In this iyle there is ane guid raid for schipps, callit in Erische Polmoir,<sup>12</sup> and in English the Mechell puill;<sup>13</sup> this layes at ane toun callit Lanlay Vanych. Ane uther raid layes within Ellan Grynard,<sup>14</sup> callit in English the isle at the poynt of the ness; the raid is callit Leodannis. Within this iyle ther is sundrie freshe water lochis, sic as Lochmoyburge,<sup>15</sup> wherein ther layes an iyle pertaining to the Bishopes of the iyles; the loch of Ellan Charrin,<sup>16</sup> quherin ther is ane iyle pertyning to M'Gillane of Doward; Loch Cherossa,<sup>17</sup> with ane iyle pertaining to the abbot of Colmkill. In this iyle there is

<sup>1</sup> Lismore. The author of Skene's "Description" speaks at some length of Lismore. Among other things he says that in Lismore "will grow the best beir in the Iles of sic quantitie that I think shame to write it, albeit that I have honest authors to affirm the same." <sup>2</sup> Leaden ore. <sup>3</sup> The only remains of the cathedral are a decorated choir with traces of a chapter-house and sacristy. <sup>4</sup> Isla. <sup>5</sup> Deer. <sup>6</sup> Village or hamlet. <sup>7</sup> Now the Laggan river. <sup>8</sup> Loch Gruinnard. <sup>9</sup> Seals. <sup>10</sup> Trained for that purpose. <sup>11</sup> Near the lead-mines there is a place marked Mulrush in Ordnance Survey Map. <sup>12</sup> Bowmore. <sup>13</sup> Meikle or big pool. <sup>14</sup> Nave Island must be meant. <sup>15</sup> In B., Loch Moyburg. <sup>16</sup> Loch a' Chuirn. <sup>17</sup> Loch Skerrols.



strenths castells; the first is callit Dunowaik,<sup>1</sup> biggit on ane craig at the sea side, on the southeist part of the countrey pertaining to the Clandonald of Kintyre; second is callit the castle of Lochgurne,<sup>2</sup> quhilk is biggit in ane iyle within the said fresche water loche far fra land, pertaining of auld to the Clandonald of Kintyre, now usurped be M'Gillayne of Doward. Ellan Forlagan,<sup>3</sup> in the middle of Ila, ane faire iyle in fresche water.

56. EARNE ISLE.<sup>4</sup> At the mouth of Kyle Ila,<sup>5</sup> betwixt it and Duray, lyes ane ile, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Charne, in English the iyle of Earne. Her begin wee to cirkell Iyla, sun gaittis aboute<sup>6</sup> with litle iyles as followis.

57. HESSIL IYLE. Narrest this southwardes layes an iyle, callit in Erish the Leid Ellan Natravie, in English the Hessil iyle.<sup>7</sup>

58. MULMOYRIS IYLE.<sup>8</sup> Narrest that, at the said shore of Ila, layes there ane litle iyle, callit Ellan M'luray, callit in English Mulmoryis iyle.

59. OFRUM.<sup>9</sup> Narrest this, at the said shore, southwart, lyes that iyle, callit in the Erische Ellan Ofrum.

60. BRYDES IYLE.<sup>10</sup> Narrest to this, at the said shore, southwart, layes that iyle, which the Erische name Ellan Birde, in English Brydes iyle.

61. CORS KER.<sup>11</sup> Narrest this, at the said shore, layes ane litle iyle, by the Eriche callit Cors Ker, that is, the Stay Skarey or craige.

62. EISILACHE. Narrest to this is ther a small iyle, at the said shore of Ila, which the Eriche call Ellan Eisillache,<sup>12</sup> that is the Liche iyle.

63. IMERSKA.<sup>13</sup> Narrest this layes the litle island Imerska.

64. BETHEY. Narrest to the iyle Imerska layes that iyle, which the Erische name Elan Bethey.

65. TISGAY.<sup>14</sup> Narrest this layes, at the south cost of Ila,

<sup>1</sup> Dunyveg. In Skene's "Description" what appears to be the same castle is called Downerie. <sup>2</sup> Loch Gorme, of which no traces remain. In Skene's "Description" it appears as Lochgormen. <sup>3</sup> In Loch Finlaggan. <sup>4</sup> Eilean a' Chuirn. <sup>5</sup> Sound of Isla. <sup>6</sup> Some little distance off. <sup>7</sup> Is this the Eilean Craobach of the Survey? <sup>8</sup> Eilean Mhic Mhaolmhoire; in B., Maalmoirie. <sup>9</sup> Outram; in B., Osrym. <sup>10</sup> Eilean Bhride; in B., Brydi. <sup>11</sup> Corr Sgeir; in B., Korskyr. <sup>12</sup> Is this Iseanach? <sup>13</sup> Eilean Imersay; in B., Immersie. <sup>14</sup> Texa. It has still the remains of a small chapel (Muir, p. 16).

thir is ane iyle, callit by the Erische Tisgay, ane myle of lenthe guid maineland, and ane kirk in it; very guid it is for sheep and for fishing.

66. SCHEIPIS IYLE.<sup>1</sup> Narrest this lays Ellan Nakerath, by the Eirische so called, and in Englische the Scheipis iyle, quhilk is verey guid for the same, and for corn also.

67. MYRESNYPES IYLE.<sup>2</sup> Narrest this, to the southwarte, layes ther ane iyle, by the Erishe namit Ellan na Naoske, in Englicshe the Myresnypes iyle.

68. NESS POYNTE IYLE. Narrest this layes ther ane ysl, by the Erishe nameit in their Leide Ellan, that is the yle at the west poynt.

69. LYART IYLE. Narrest this layes Leach Ellan, Rynd-nahard, by the Erishe namit sa, in Englische namit the Lyart iyle.

70. TAIRSKERAY.<sup>3</sup> Narrest to this layes ane iyle, by Erische themselves called Tairskeray.

71. ACHNARRA.<sup>4</sup> Narrest to Tairskeray layes the iyle namit Achnarra.

72. GRAIT IYLE.<sup>5</sup> Narrest this layes that iyle, by the Erische namit Ellan Moire, that is the great iyle, guid for store and pasturage.

73. THE IYLE OF THE MAN'S FIGURE. Narrest to the grate iyle lyes that which the Erische namit Ellancalfie, callit in Englische the iyle of Man's figure.

74. JHONE'S IYLE. Narrest this layes Ellan Ean, callit in Englishe Jhone's ile.

75. STAKBEADES.<sup>6</sup> Narrest to this layes that iyle that the Erische calls Stackbeades.

76. OVERSAY.<sup>7</sup> Narrest this, at the west poynt of Ilay, lyes ane iyle, callit by the Erische Ellan Oversay, ane myle in lenthe. It hath ane paroch kirke,<sup>8</sup> and is verey guid for fishing, inhabit and manurit, with ane right dangerous kyle<sup>9</sup> and stream callit Corey Garrache; na man dare enter in it bot at ane certain tyme of the tyde, or ellis he will perish. This iyle layes in lenth from the southeist to the northwest.

<sup>1</sup> Eilean nan Caorach. <sup>2</sup> In B., Oilen na naosg. <sup>3</sup> Tarr Sgeir; in B., Tarskyr. <sup>4</sup> In B., Achnar. <sup>5</sup> In B., Ylen Moir. <sup>6</sup> In B., Stackchabhada. <sup>7</sup> Orsay; in B., Oversa. <sup>8</sup> See Muir, p. 16. <sup>9</sup> Passage.

77. **MERCHANDS IYLE.**<sup>1</sup> Narrest this, on the northwest coist of Ila, lyes an iyle, callit by the Erische Ellan Kenyth, that is the merchands iyle.

78. **USABRAST.** Narrest this, on the foresaid northwest coist of Ila, lyes an iyle, callit Usabrast, good for grass and fishing.

79. **TANEFTE.**<sup>2</sup> Narrest this, on the north coist of Iyla, lyes ane iyle, nameit Ellan Tanefte.

80. **NESE.**<sup>3</sup> Narrest the same, on the north coist of Ila, beside the entresse of Lochgrunord, layes ane iyle, called by the Erish Ellan-nese, with ane kirke in it. This iyle is half ane myle in lenthe, fair maynland, inhabit and manurit, guid for fishing.

81. **VEBSTER.**<sup>4</sup> Narrest this iyles lyes ther ane, callit by the Erische themselves Ellan Nabaney, that is the Vebster's iyle.

82. **ORNANSAY.**<sup>5</sup> North from Ilay layes ane iyle callit Ornansay, it is twa myle lange, and neire alls meikell in breidth, quherin ther is ane monastery of chanons, mayne laiche land, full of hairs and foulmarts,<sup>6</sup> with convenient havens for Heyland galeys, and shald<sup>7</sup> at the shores. It lays eight miles of sea north from Ila.

83. Beside this iyle Ornansay layes ane uther ile lesse then it, callit by the Irische Ellan Namuche,<sup>8</sup> half ane myle lang, which is guid for swyne and alse uther bestiall.

84. **COLNANSAY.**<sup>9</sup> Northward from the iyle of Ornansay, be ane half myle of sea, lyes ane ile, callit Colnansay, seven myle lange from the northeist to the southwest, with twa myle bredthe, ane fertile ile guid for quhit fishing. It hath ane paroch kirke.<sup>10</sup> This ile is bruikit<sup>11</sup> be ane gentle capitane, callit M'Duffyhe, and pertened of auld to Clandonald of Kyntyre.

85. **MULL.** Twelfe myle northward from the iyle of Colnansay lyes the iyle of Mull, ane grate rough ile, noch the les it is fertile and fruitful. This ile contains in lenth from the northeist to the southweste twenty-four myles, and

<sup>1</sup> The Eilean Mhic Coinnich of the Ordnance Survey. <sup>2</sup> In B., Tanasd. <sup>3</sup> Nave Island. <sup>4</sup> Oilen na bany. <sup>5</sup> Oronsay; in B., Orvonsa. There are still remains of the priory church of its monastery (Muir, p. 16). <sup>6</sup> Pole-cats. <sup>7</sup> Shallow. <sup>8</sup> Evidently Eilean nan ron, "isle of seals." <sup>9</sup> Colonsay; in B., Collonsay. <sup>10</sup> At Kilchattan there are slight remains of a chapel and a burying-ground (Muir, p. 16). <sup>11</sup> Owned.

in breid from the eist southeist to west northwest uther twenty-four myles, with certain woodes, maney deire; and verey fair hunting games, with many grate mertines<sup>1</sup> and cunnings for hunting, with a guid raid fornent Colmkill, callit Pollaisse,<sup>2</sup> There is sevin<sup>3</sup> parochie kirks within this iyle, and thre castles, to wit the castle of Doward,<sup>4</sup> a strenthey place, bigged on a craige at the sea syde; the castle of Lochbowy,<sup>5</sup> pertaining to M'Gillayne of Lochbowy; the castle of Arose,<sup>6</sup> quhilk in former time pertinet to the Lord of the iyles, and now is bruked be M'Gillayne of Doward. In this ile there is twa guid fresche waters, ane of them are callit Avanva,<sup>7</sup> and the water of Glenforsay,<sup>8</sup> full of salmond, with uther waters that has salmond in them, but not in sic abundance as the twa forsaid waters. This ile hath also salt water loches, to wit, Loch Ear,<sup>9</sup> ane little small loche, with guid take of herringes: this loche layes in the southwest of the countrey. Then is Loch Fyne,<sup>10</sup> quherin ther is a guid take of herrings. Northwest fra this loche, lyes Loch Seaforte,<sup>11</sup> guid for the herring fishing. Lykwayes on the east part of the countrey layes ane loche, callit Lochepetit.<sup>12</sup> Narrest this loche, in the southe southeist, layes Lochbowy,<sup>13</sup> a fair braid loche, quherin there is grate take of herring and uther fishings. As als within this ile ther is twa fresche water loches; the ane is callit Loch Strathsenaban, with an ile in it, callit by the Erische Ellan Strathsenaban;<sup>14</sup> the uther fresche water loche is callit Lochebaa,<sup>15</sup> with an iyle therein. Thir iyles are baith strenthe and inhabit. This iyle pertains pairtly to M'Gillayne of Doward, pairtly to M'Gillayne of Lochbowy, pairtly to M'Kynnoun, and pairtly to the Clandonald of awld. This iyland layes but four myle from the firme land of Moriwarne.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martins. <sup>2</sup> Now Poll-tairbh. <sup>3</sup> Mr Muir notes the remains of at least seven chapels still existing in Mull (p. 23). <sup>4</sup> Duart. <sup>5</sup> Lochbuy. <sup>6</sup> Aros. <sup>7</sup> Loch Ba. <sup>8</sup> Glen Forsa; in B., Glen Foirsa. <sup>9</sup> Erraid; in B., Erra. <sup>10</sup> Probably Loch Caol, at the head of which is Ardfenaig farm, though from its size and position that now called Loch Scridain may be meant. <sup>11</sup> Loch na Keal; in B., Loch Seaffort. <sup>12</sup> Loch Spelve; in B., Spelu. <sup>13</sup> Loch Buy. <sup>14</sup> Loch Sganbain. This is the loch whose name most closely resembles that mentioned by Monro; but Loch Frisa or Loch Uisg suits better as far as position is concerned. <sup>15</sup> Loch Ba. <sup>16</sup> Morvern.

86. THE DOW<sup>1</sup> IYLE. At the southwest shore of the ile of Mull, lyes ane little ile, by the Erische namit Ellanchane, that is the Dow illyand, inhabit, half a myle lange, fruitfull for corne and gressing, with ane havin for Heighland bottis.<sup>2</sup>

87. ERRAY.<sup>3</sup> Northwest from this ile layes ane ile, namit by the Erische Ellan Erray, ane iyle of halffe myle lange and halffe myle braid, guid main land, inhabit and manurit, fruitfull of corne and pastorage, with abundance of fisching.

88. COLMKILL.<sup>4</sup> Narrest this, be twa myles of sea, layes the ile the Erische callit I-colm-kill, that is, Sanct Colm's ile, ane faire mayne ile of twa myle lange and maire, and ane myle braid, fertill, and fruitfull of corne and store, and guid for fishing. Within this ile there is a monastery of mounckes,<sup>5</sup> and ane uther of nuns,<sup>6</sup> with a paroche kirke, and sundrie uther chapells, dotat<sup>7</sup> of auld by the kings of Scotland, and be Clandonald of the iyles. This abbay forsaid was the cathedrall kirk of the bishops of the iyles, sen the tyme they were expulsed out of the ile of Man by the Englishmen;<sup>8</sup> for within the ile of Man was ther cathedrall kirk and living of auld, as I have already said in the description of that ile. Within this ile of Colmkill, there is ane sanctuary also, or kirkyaird, callit in Erische Religoran, quhilck is a very fair kirkyaird, and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary ther is three tombes of staine, formit like little chapels, with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill<sup>9</sup> of ilk ane of the tombes. In the staine of the ane tombe there is wretten in Latin letters, *Tumulus Regum Scotiæ*, that is, The tombe or grave of the Scotts Kinges. Within this tombe, according to our Scotts and Erische cronikels, ther layes fortie-eight crowned Scotts kings, through the quhilck this ile hes been richlie dotat be the Scotts kings, as we have said. The tombe on the south syde forsaid hes this inscription, *Tumulus Regum Hyberniciæ*, that is, The tombe of the Irland kinges; for we have in our auld Erische cronickells that ther wes foure

<sup>1</sup> In Ordnance Survey, Eilean a' Chalmain. <sup>2</sup> Boats. <sup>3</sup> Earraid; in B., Erra. <sup>4</sup> Iona. <sup>5</sup> Founded by Columba in 565. <sup>6</sup> Probably of the 13th century; first mentioned by Fordun. <sup>7</sup> Endowed. <sup>8</sup> In 1334. <sup>9</sup> Gable.



Irland kinges eirdit<sup>1</sup> in the said tombe. Upon the north syde of our Scotts tombe, the inscriptione beares, *Tumulus Regum Norvegiæ*, that is, The tombe of the kings of Norroway; in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erishe cronickells, ther layes eight kings of Norroway,<sup>2</sup> and als we find, in our Erishe cronickells, that Coelus king of Norroway commandit his nobils to take his bodey and burey it in Colmkill, if it chancit him to die in the iles; bot he was so discomfitit, that ther remained not so maney of his armye as wald burey him ther; therefor he wes eirded in Kyle, after he stroke ane field against the Scotts, and was vanquisht be them.<sup>3</sup> Within this sanctuary also lyes the maist pairt of the Lords of the iles, with their lineage. Twa Clan Lynes with their lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guare with ther lynages, with sundrie uthers inhabitants of the hail iles,<sup>4</sup> because this sanctuarey wes wont to be the sepulture of the best men of all the iles, and als of our kings, as we have said; becaus it was the maist honorable and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes, as we reid.

89. SOA.<sup>5</sup> At the southwest end of this ile of Colmkill, layes ane ile callit Soa, quherin ther is infinit number of wyld fowels nests. It is half ane myle in lenthe, verey guid for sheepe. It pertains to Colmkill.

90. NABAN. On the southeist syde of the yland of Colmkill, ther layes ane ile, callit in Erishe Ellan Naban,<sup>6</sup> that is the Woemens ile. It is full of hedirr,<sup>7</sup> guid for store<sup>8</sup> and fishing. It pertains to Colmkill.

91. MOROAN.<sup>9</sup> On the north northest end of Colmkill, lyes ane little ile, by the Erishe namit Ellan Moroan, ane little laiche<sup>10</sup> maine sandie ile, full of bent and guid for sheepe. It pertains to Colmkill.

92. RERINGE.<sup>11</sup> On the north syde of Colmkill layes ther ane litel yle, by the Erishe namit Ellan Reringe, ane profit-

<sup>1</sup> Buried. <sup>2</sup> Nothing now remains of these tombs except "Iomaire-nan-Righ," the ridge of the kings. <sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 70 (above), where Boece makes this Coilus, Coyll, or Coelus, a king of the Britons. <sup>4</sup> Certain of these still exist within the chapel of St Oran and in its immediate vicinity. <sup>5</sup> Soay. <sup>6</sup> Eilean nam Ban. <sup>7</sup> Heather. <sup>8</sup> Cattle. <sup>9</sup> Is this the Eilean Rabach of Ordnance Survey, or the Eilean Annraidh in Reeves's Map (*Vita Columbae*, p. 424)? <sup>10</sup> Low lying. <sup>11</sup> In B., Rering. Possibly the modern Reidh eilean.

able ile, yielding verey grate plenty of wyld fowls eggs, and guid for fishing, pertaining to Colmkill.

93. INCHE KENZIE.<sup>1</sup> On the north and northnortheast of Colmkill, lyes ane iyle, be twalve myles of sea till within the entres of Lochseaford forsaid,<sup>2</sup> callit Inch Kenzie, half ane myle in lenthe, and not fully half a myle in breadthe, a fair ile, fertill and fruitful, inhabit and manurit, full of cunings about the shores of it, with a paroch kirk,<sup>3</sup> the maist part of the parochin being upon the mayne shoar of Mull, being onlie ane half myle distant from the said ile, and the haill parochin of it pertains to the prioress of Colmkill.<sup>4</sup>

94. EORSAY.<sup>5</sup> Within this iyle of Inch Kenzie, in the said Loche of Seaforte, be ane myle of sea, lyes ane ile callit Eorsay, ane fertile ile, full of corne and grassing, mair than a myle lang, pertaining to the prioress of Colmkill.

95. CALFA.<sup>6</sup> Upon the narrest coste of Mull lyes ane iyle callit Calfe, ane myle of lenthe, full of woods, with ane sufficient raid for shipes, perteyning to M'Gillayne of Doward.

96. THE GLASSE ILES.<sup>7</sup> Befor the castel of Aross lyes ther twa iyles, the ane callit by the Erishe Glassmoire, the other Glassbeg, and in the southeist fra that, throughe the Kyle of Mull, lyes the said twa iles, perteyning to M'Gillayne of Doward.

97. ARDIN RIDER.<sup>8</sup> From the twa Glass iles to the southeist lyes an ile, callit by the Erishe Ardin Rider, that is, the ile of the Knightsness, pertaining to M'Gillayne of Doward.

98. ELLAN MADIE.<sup>9</sup> Southward from Doward lyes ane ile, upon the shore side, namit Ellan Madie by the Erishe. It is very guid for store, being bentey. It pertains to M'Gillayne of Doward.

99. ELLAN MOIR.<sup>10</sup> Southwest from Ellanmadie, upon the

<sup>1</sup> Inchkenneth. <sup>2</sup> Loch na Keal. <sup>3</sup> Its walls are still standing, and its cemetery is still used. <sup>4</sup> Dr Johnson visited Inchkenneth. "Inchkenneth," he says, "is a proper prelude to Icolmkill. It was not without some mournful emotion that we contemplated the ruins of religious structures and the monuments of the dead." <sup>5</sup> Eorsa. <sup>6</sup> Calve island. <sup>7</sup> Eilean Glasa; in B., Clash ylen M. and Beg. <sup>8</sup> Eilean Rudha an Ridire. <sup>9</sup> Eilean a' Mhadaidh; in B., Ylen na Maddy. Abounding in bent, or coarse grass. <sup>10</sup> Eilean Mòr. Monro does not mention the Church of St Charmag or Mac-Cormaig, "a very characteristic and but little wasted building" (Muir, p. 19).

shore of Mull, lyes ane ile, callit by the Erishe Ellan-moir, guid for store and for fishing, pertening to M'Gillayne of Lochbuy.

100. RONIN.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen myle northwast from the ile of Coll, lyes ane ile callit Ronin ile, of sixteen myle lang, and six in bredthe in the narrowest, ane forest of heigh mountains, and abundance of litle deire in it, quhilk deir will never be slane dounewith,<sup>2</sup> but the principal saitts man be in the height of the hill, because the deir will be callit<sup>3</sup> upwart, ay be the Tainchell, or without tynchell they will pass upwart perforce. In this ile will be gotten about Britane als many wild nests upon the plane mure<sup>4</sup> as men pleasis to gadder, and that by resson the fowls hes few to start them except deir. This iyle lyes from the west to the eist in lenth, and pertains to M'Kenabrey of Colla.<sup>5</sup> Maney solan geise are in this ile.

101. THE HORSE<sup>6</sup> IYLE. Be foure of sea toward the southeist, layes ane little ile, half ane myle lang, callit by the Erische Ellan-naneache, that is in Englishe the Horse ile, guid for horse and uther store, pertening to the Bishope of the iles.

102. SWYNES<sup>7</sup> ILE. Be ane haffe myle of sea to this ile, lyes ane ile of twa myle lang, callit in Erische Ellannaneche,<sup>8</sup> that is the Swynes ile, and very fertill and fruitful of cornes and grassing for all store, and verey guid for fishing, inhabit and manurit, a good falcon nest<sup>9</sup> in it. It perteynis to the Bishope of the iles, with ane guid heighland haven in it, the entrey quherof is at the west cheik.<sup>10</sup>

103. KANNAY.<sup>11</sup> Be twa myle of sea towards the north-west, towards the ile of Ronin, layes ane ile callit Kannay,

<sup>1</sup> Rum. <sup>2</sup> On the low ground. <sup>3</sup> Driven. <sup>4</sup> Moor. <sup>5</sup> In Skene's "Description" it is stated that Rum "pertainis heretablie to ane Barron callit the Laird of Challow (Coll), quha is of M'Clanes kin, but is possest and is in the hands of Clan-Rannald." <sup>6</sup> Eilean nan Each; in B., Aich. <sup>7</sup> Muck. <sup>8</sup> So in MS.; though the Gaelic equivalent for "Swynes ile" should be "Ellan na muc." <sup>9</sup> The following entries in the General Index to the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland will explain why Monro so specially notes the existence of falcon's nests in certain of the islands. "Grant to John of the Isles of many islands and lands 'cum aeriis falconum' (1343); no one to take trained or wild hawks on their eggs without leave of the owner of the ground (1474); complaint that noblemen cannot get the pastime of hawking as in times past (1551)." <sup>10</sup> Side. <sup>11</sup> Canna.

faire maine land, foure myle lange, inhabit and manurit, with paroche<sup>1</sup> kirk in it, guid for corne, fishing and grassing, with a falcon nest in it, pertines to the Abbot of Colmkill.

104. EGGA.<sup>2</sup> North from Ellan-muche be four myles lyes ane ile, callit the ile of Egga, four myle lange and twa myle braid, gude maine land, with a paroche kirke<sup>3</sup> in it, and many solan geese, and verey guid for store, namelie for sheip, with a haven for heighland bottis.

105. SOA URETTIL.<sup>4</sup> Northeist be twalve myles of sea from the ile Ronin, layes ane ile of half myle in lenth, callit Soa Urettill, ane roughe iyle, quherin deir uses to be, and hunting games. It pertaines to M'Cloid<sup>5</sup> of Heray.<sup>6</sup>

106. SKY. North fra the ile Soa Urettill, be twa myle of sea, lyes the grate ile of Sky, tending from the south to the north to fortey twa myles, roughe and hard land; that is to say, from the south poynt of Sleitt<sup>7</sup> to the north poynt of Trouternesse,<sup>8</sup> and eight myle braid in some places, and in uther places twalve myles braid. In this ile there is twalve paroche kirkes,<sup>9</sup> manurit and inhabit, fertill land, namelie for aitis, excelling aney uther ground for grassing and pastoures, abounding in store, and of studds in it, maney woods, maney forrests, maney deire, fair hunting games, maney grate hills, principally Cuilluelum<sup>10</sup> and Glannock.<sup>11</sup> Within this ile ther is gud take of salmant<sup>12</sup> upon five watters principally, to wit, the water of Sneisport,<sup>13</sup> Sligachan, Straitswardill,<sup>14</sup> Ranlagallan,<sup>15</sup> and Kilmtynne, with seven or aught uther smaller watters, quherupon salmont are also slayne. In this ile there is ane freshe water loche, callit the loche of Glenmoire, quheron ther is abundance of salmont and kipper slane. Within this iyle of Sky there is five castills; to wit, the castill of

<sup>1</sup> Of this church, dedicated to St Columba, only slight traces remain (Muir, p. 32). <sup>2</sup> Eigg. The author of Skene's "Description," in speaking of this island, refers to the horrible incident of the smoking of the islanders by M'Cleod of Harris in 1577. <sup>3</sup> The Church of Kildonan, now in ruins. <sup>4</sup> So; in B., Soay. <sup>5</sup> Macleod. <sup>6</sup> Harris. <sup>7</sup> Sleat; in B., Selait. <sup>8</sup> Trotternish. <sup>9</sup> All these churches have either totally disappeared or are mere fragments of stone (Muir, p. 34). <sup>10</sup> The Cuchullins; in B., Culluelun. <sup>11</sup> Glamaig; in B., Klammaig Hills. <sup>12</sup> Salmon. <sup>13</sup> Snizort; in B., Snesport. <sup>14</sup> Strath Suardal; in B., Strathwardil. In Skene's "Description" the name appears as Strathvardeill. <sup>15</sup> In B., Ranlagan.



Dunbeggan,<sup>1</sup> pertaining to M'Cloyd of Herray, ane starke<sup>2</sup> strengthe, biggit upon ane craig; the castill of Dunnakynne,<sup>3</sup> perteing to Mackynnoun; the castill Dunringill,<sup>4</sup> perteing to the said Mackynnoun; the castill of Camns<sup>5</sup> in Sleit, perteing to Donald Gromsone; the castill of Dunskey,<sup>6</sup> perteing to the said Donald Gromsone; and the castill of Donntwyline,<sup>7</sup> perteing to Donald Gromesone lykeways. Within this ile ther is seven sundry countreys: to wit, Slaitt; perteing to Donald Gromsone; Straytsnardill,<sup>8</sup> perteing to M'Kynnoun, quhilk lies next the Sleit; Menzenise,<sup>9</sup> perteing to M'Cloyde of Herrays; Brachedill,<sup>10</sup> perteing to the said M'Cloyde; Watterness, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis; and Trontieness,<sup>11</sup> perteing to Donald Gromesone. Into this ile ther is three principal salt water loches; to wit, Loch Sleigachan, Loch Downort,<sup>12</sup> and Loch Sleippan.<sup>13</sup> In thir three principal loches there is a guid take of herrings, for by thir three principal loches, there is thirteen salt water loches also within this ile, to wit, 1. Loche Skahanask,<sup>14</sup> 2. Loche Emorte,<sup>15</sup> 3. Loche Vrakdill,<sup>16</sup> 4. Loche Kensale<sup>17</sup> serloss, 5. Loche Dunbegan,<sup>18</sup> 6. Loche Gorsarmis,<sup>19</sup> 7. Loche Arnoffort,<sup>20</sup> 8. Loche Snasporte,<sup>21</sup> 9. Loche Portri,<sup>22</sup> 10. Loche Ken, 11. Loche Nadalae,<sup>23</sup> in Sleit. The uthir twa loches my memorey is fayled of them; but in mony of them ther is guid tack<sup>24</sup> of herrings sometymes, but nought so guid by far as in the three first loches. This iyle is callit by the Erishe Ellan Skyane, that is to say in Englishe the Wingitt ile, be reason it has maney wyngs and points lyand furth frae it, through the devyding of thir loches.

107. ORANSAY.<sup>25</sup> About this ile of Sky lyes in ane cirkill

<sup>1</sup> Dunvegan, "almost the only fortress of the old chiefs of the isles which is inhabited" (Macgibbon and Ross, vol. iii. p. 79). <sup>2</sup> Strong. <sup>3</sup> At Kyleakin, now called Caistel Maol. <sup>4</sup> In B., Dun ringil. <sup>5</sup> In B., Castel Chammez. <sup>6</sup> The Dunscaich of the Ossianic poems, the early home of Cuchullin. <sup>7</sup> Duntulm; in B., Dun tuillym. <sup>8</sup> Strath Suardal; in B., Strathwhardil. <sup>9</sup> Minginish; in B., Meaissin. <sup>10</sup> Bracadale; in B., Brakadel. <sup>11</sup> Trotternish. <sup>12</sup> Ainort; in B., Eynort. <sup>13</sup> Slapin; in B., Leypan. <sup>14</sup> Scavaig; in B., Scafaig. <sup>15</sup> Eynort. <sup>16</sup> Bracadale. <sup>17</sup> L. Pooltiel (?). <sup>18</sup> Dunvegan. <sup>19</sup> L. Greshornish; in B., Grisarnes. <sup>20</sup> L. Snizort Beag (?). <sup>21</sup> L. Snizort; in B., Snesport. <sup>22</sup> Portree; in B., Portry. <sup>23</sup> Loch na Dal; in B., Kean Loch na Dalloch. In Skene's "Description" Loch na Daill. <sup>24</sup> Take, draught. <sup>25</sup> Oronsay.



certain iles, to wit, at the west syde of Sleit lyes ane callit Oransay, ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, guid land, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

108. NAGOYNEYNE.<sup>1</sup> Fornent Loche Alshe lyes ane iyle, callit in Erishe Ellan Nagoyneyne, that is to say, Cunings ile, full of woode and cunnings, hafe an myle in lenth. It perteynes to M'Kenzie.

109. PABAY. At the shore of Sky foresaid, lyes ane iyle callit Pabay, neyre ane myle in lenthe, full of woodes, guid for fishing, and a main<sup>2</sup> shelter for thieves and cut-throats. It perteins to M'Kynnoun.

110. SCALPAY.<sup>3</sup> Fra this ile of Pabay, northwest be aught myle of sea, lyes ane ile callit Scalpay, foure myle lange, and als meikle in breid, ane faire hunting forrest, full of deire, with certain little woodis and small tounes, weill inhabit and manurit, with maney strenthey coves, guid for fishing. In heritage it perteines to M'Gillayne of Dowarde.

111. CROWLING.<sup>4</sup> Crowling, ane small ile, yea rather a guid raid, betwixt the mouth of Loche Carron and the ile of Raarsay.

112. RAARSAY.<sup>5</sup> Twa myle off sea fra the ile of Scalpay forsaid, lyes ane ile callit Raarsay, seiven myle lange from the southe to the northe, bot ane myle of sea from Trouternesse, and twa myle of breid, with pairt of birkin<sup>6</sup> woodis, maney deires, pairt of profitable landes, inhabit and manurit, with twa castles, to witt, the castle of Killmorocht<sup>7</sup> and the castle of Brolokit,<sup>8</sup> with twa fair orchards at the saids twa castells, with ane paroche kirk, callit Killmolowocke,<sup>9</sup> ane roughe countrey, bot all full of free-stanes and guid quarells.<sup>10</sup> It is excellent for fishing, pertaining to M'Gyllychallan<sup>11</sup> of Raarsay be the sword, and to the bishope of the iles by heritage. This same M'Gyllychallan shuld obey M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

<sup>1</sup> Mackenzie Island. It has traces of ecclesiastical buildings and a burying-ground. <sup>2</sup> Great. <sup>3</sup> Scalpa. <sup>4</sup> Crowlin. <sup>5</sup> Rasay. <sup>6</sup> Birch. <sup>7</sup> Kilmaluag, pulled down about 1746, and replaced by a modern mansion. <sup>8</sup> Brochel, now consists of two small towers. In Skene's "Description" the name of this castle appears as Prokill. <sup>9</sup> The Church of St Moluac, now in ruins (Muir, p. 38). <sup>10</sup> Quarries or quarry-stones. <sup>11</sup> M'Leod of Raasay was always styled in Gaelic Mac'Ille Chaluum.

113. RONAY.<sup>1</sup> At the north end of Raarsay, be half myle of sea frae it, layes ane ile callit Ronay, mair then a myle in lengthe, full of wood and heddir, with ane havin for heiland galeys in the middis of it, and the same havein is guied for fostering of theives, ruggairs,<sup>2</sup> and reivairs, till a nail,<sup>3</sup> upon the peilling<sup>4</sup> and spulzeing<sup>5</sup> of poure pepill. This ile pertains to M'Gillychallan of Raarsay by force, and to the bishope of the iles be heritage.

114. ELLAN GEARLOCHIE.<sup>6</sup> Ellan Gearlochie, a guid raid for the shipes in the mouthe of Lochaber.

115. FLADDAY.<sup>7</sup> To the north fra Ronay, be sex myle of sea, lyes ane ile namit Fladday, ane maine laiche ile, half ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, fruitfull in corne and gerssing, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

116. TUILIN.<sup>8</sup> Narrest the Fladday, be twa myle of sea at the shore of Tronterness, lyes an ile, callit Ellan Tuilin, haffe myle lange or thereby, manurit, guid for corne and store, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

117. Four myle of sea fra this ile Tuilin, northwart, lyes an ile callit——

118. ORANSAY.<sup>9</sup> Upon the south coste of Sky, be ane half myle to the shore of Brakadill, is ane ile callit Oransay, haffe myle lange, ane boney<sup>10</sup> ile for corne and gerssing, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Herray.

119. BUYAMOIRE.<sup>11</sup> Be ane myle of sea to this ile of Oransay, layes ane callit Buyamoire, guid for corne and store, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Herray.

Narrest the ile of Buyamoir lyes foure small iles, quhose names the author has left blanks for, with the numbers of 120, 121, 122, 123.

Befor the castell of Dunbogan<sup>12</sup> lyes three small iles, to wit, 124, 125, 126.

127. ISAY. At the shore of Watterness lyes ane ile callit Isa, ane faire laiche maine ile, inhabit and manurit, verey fertill and fruitfull for corne and gerssing, ane myle lange and haffe myle braid, having beside it ane uther laiche

<sup>1</sup> South Rona. <sup>2</sup> Robbers. <sup>3</sup> The meaning is that they carried off everything *even to a nail*. <sup>4</sup> Thieving. <sup>5</sup> Spoiling. <sup>6</sup> In B., Yl. Loch Gher.

<sup>7</sup> Staffin Island; in B., Fladda. <sup>8</sup> Tulum Island. <sup>9</sup> Oronsay. <sup>10</sup> Valuable.

<sup>11</sup> Wiay; in B., Uyamoir. <sup>12</sup> Dunvegan.

ile full of sheepe. This ile is guid for fishing, quhilk iles pertines to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

128. ASKERIN.<sup>1</sup> On the eist shore of Watternesse lyes ane ile callit Ellan Askerin, abounding in gressing and pasture, maire usit for sheilling<sup>2</sup> and pasture than for corne land, guid for fishing and slaughter of selchies, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

129. LINDILL.<sup>3</sup> Upon the shore of Askerin lyes ane ile, callit Ellan Lindill, verey guid for bear<sup>4</sup> and for pasture of sheepe. It pertines to M'Cloyd of Heray.

130. LINGAY.<sup>5</sup> From the ile of Sky towards the south-west, be foure score myles of sea, lyes ane ile callit Lingay, guid for gressing and fishing, ane ile of haffe myle lange. It has a falcon nest in it, pertains to the bishope of the iles.

131. GIGARUN.<sup>6</sup> Backwart to the north, besydes the ile of Lingay, lyes ane ile callit Gigarun, halfe myle lang, pertaining to the bischop of the iles.

132. BERNERAY.<sup>7</sup> Besydes the ile of Gigarun, towards the north, lyes ane ile, inhabit and manurit, ane myle lange, callit Berneray, verey fertill land, and guid for fishing, pertaining to the bishop of the iles.

133. MEGALY.<sup>8</sup> Besydes the ile of Berneray, towards the north, lyes ane ile callit Megaly, twa myle lange, inhabit and weill manurit, guid for fishing and corne, pertaining to the bishop of the iles.

134. PABAY.<sup>9</sup> Besydes the ile of Megaly, to the north northeist, lyes ane ile callit Pabay, ane myle lang, manurit. In it is guid take of fische. It pertines to the bishope of the iles.

135. FLADAY.<sup>10</sup> Besides the ile of Pabay lies ane pretty little ile to the northwart, callit Fladay, of ane myle lange, fruitfull in corne, and alsa in fishing, pertaining to the bishope of the iles.

136. SCARPNAMUTT.<sup>11</sup> Neire the ile of Fladay, towards the

<sup>1</sup> Ascrib Islands. <sup>2</sup> Sheltering sheep. <sup>3</sup> In B., Linadil. <sup>4</sup> Winter barley.

<sup>5</sup> South of South Uist. <sup>6</sup> Greanamul; in B., Grialum. <sup>7</sup> Bernera. <sup>8</sup> Mingalay, with a curious architectural relic known as "The Cross." <sup>9</sup> Pabbay, with the slight remains of St Peter's Chapel. <sup>10</sup> Flodday; in B., Flada.

<sup>11</sup> Scarpsnamult (Scarpa Vervecum).

north, lyes ane ile namit Scarpsnamutt, twa myle in lenthe, with a hake<sup>1</sup> nest in it, full of pastures, and verey guid for fishing, perteing to the bishop of the iles.

137. SANDERAY.<sup>2</sup> Nixt to the forsaid ile lyes ther ane uther, callit Sanderay, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne and fishing, twa myle lange. It perteines to the bishope of the iles.

138. WATTERSAY.<sup>3</sup> Besydes this ile, northwart, lyes ane ile callit Wattersay, twa myle in lenthe and ane myle in breadthe, ane excellent raid for shippes that comes ther to fische, ane faire maine ile, inhabit and manurit, abounding in corne and gerssing, with guide pastorage for sheepe. All thir nine iles forsaid had a chappell in every ile. This ile perteyns to the bishope of the iles.

139. BARRAY.<sup>4</sup> Not far from this ile of Wattersay, towards the north, be twa myle of sea, lyes the ile Barray, being seven myle in lenthe from the southwest to the northeist and be north, and foure in breadthe from the southeist to the northwest, ane fertill and fruitfull ile in cornes, abounding in the fishing of keilling, ling, and all uther quhyte fish, with ane paroche kirke, namit Killbare.<sup>5</sup> Within the southwest end of this ile, ther enters a salt water loche, verey narrow in the entrey, and round and braide within. Into the middis of the saide loche there is ane ile, upon ane strenthey craige, callit Kiselmin,<sup>6</sup> perteing to M'Kneil of Barray. In the north end of this ile of Barray ther is ane round heigh know,<sup>7</sup> mayne grasse and greine round about it to the heid, on the top of quhilk ther is ane spring and fresh water well. This well treuly springs up certaine little round quhyte things, less nor the quantity of ane confeit corne,<sup>8</sup> lykest to the shape and figure of ane little cokill, as it appearit to me. Out of this well runs ther ane little strype downwith to the sea, and quher it enters into the sea ther is ane myle braid of sands, quhilk ebbs ane myle, callit the Trayrmore of Killbaray,<sup>9</sup> that is, the Grate

<sup>1</sup> Hawk. <sup>2</sup> Sandray; in B., Sandrera. <sup>3</sup> Watersay. <sup>4</sup> Barra. <sup>5</sup> There are the ruins of three chapels in the burying-ground of Kilbar (Muir, p. 52).

<sup>6</sup> Kismull. It still exists, a hexagonal building from 30 to 40 feet high, with a square tower at one of its angles (*Old Stat. Acct.*); in B., Kyslum. In Skene's "Description" it is called Keissdull. <sup>7</sup> Hillock. <sup>8</sup> In the older MS. this expression is indecipherable. <sup>9</sup> In B., Kilbarra.

sandes of Barray. This sand is all full of grate cokills, and alledgit be the ancient countrymen, that the cokills comes doun out of the forsaid hill throughe the said strype in the first small forme that we have spoken off, and after ther coming to the sandis growis grate cokills alwayes. Ther is na fairer and more profitable sands for cokills in all the warld. This ile pertains to M'Neill of Baray.

140. ORVANSAY.<sup>1</sup> Betwixt Barray and Ywist ther lyes, first, Orvansay, half myle lange, with ane falcone nest, ane guid profitable ile, manurit, guid for sheepe, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

141. NAHACHARRACH. Besides this ile lyes Ellan-Nahacharrach, by the Erishe so callit, and in Englishe the Sheipes ile, ane little ile full of gerssing and store, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

142. NAHAKERSAIT. Nairest this forsaid ile lyes ane ile callit Nahakersait, half a myle lange, with ane heaven for heighland galleys. It pertains to M'Neill of Barray.

143. GARNLANGA. Besides this lye sane ile callit Garnlanga, guid for fishing and verey fruitful, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.<sup>2</sup>

144. FLADAY.<sup>3</sup> Besides this lye sane ile callit Fladay, halfe a myle lange, with ane falcone nest in it, verey fertill and fruitfull. It pertains to M'Niell of Barray.

145. BWYABEG.<sup>4</sup> Besides Flada layes ane ile namit Bwyabeg, haffe a myle lang, guid for gerssing and fishing, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

146. BWYA-MOIR. Narrest Bwyabeg lyes ane ile, namit Bwya-moir, twa myle lange, manurit, full of gersing and pasture, with ane falcon nest in it, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

147. HAY. Not far from Bwya-moir lyes ane ile callit Hay, haffe a myle lange, fertill and fruitfull, and guid for fishing, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

148. HETTESAY.<sup>5</sup> Besides Hay lyes ane ile callit Hettesay, ane myle lange, fertill and fruitful, weill manurit, and

<sup>1</sup> Orosay. <sup>2</sup> These last three islands are marked in Ordnance Survey Map respectively as Nabracharrach, Nahakersait, and Garnlanga. <sup>3</sup> Flodday in *Orig. Paroch.* <sup>4</sup> Udhay. <sup>5</sup> Hellisay.



excellent for all sorte of quhyte fish taking. It perteins to M'Neill of Barray.

149. GIGAY.<sup>1</sup> Besides this ile lyes ane ile callit Gigay, ane myle lange, fertill and fruitfull, guid for store and fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

150. LINGAY. Narrest to Gigay lyes ane ile callit Lingay, haffe a myle lange, ane verey guide ile for gressing, pastures, and for sheiling, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

151. FERAY.<sup>2</sup> Besides this ile lyes ane ile laiche, namit by the Erishe Feray, haffe a myle lange, guid in corne and gersing, and excellent for fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

152. FUDAY. Besides this ile lyes ane maine sandey ile callit Fuday, fertill for beare and marenis,<sup>3</sup> the quhilk ile pay murenis yeirly to M'Neill of Barray, for part of mailles<sup>4</sup> and dewties.

153. ERISKERAY.<sup>5</sup> To the eist of this ile of Fuday, be three myle of sea, lyes ane ile callit Eriskeray, twa myle lang, inhabit and manurit. In this ile ther is daylie gottin abundance of verey grate pintill<sup>6</sup> fishe at ebb seas, and als verey guid for uther fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

154. YWST.<sup>7</sup> Northwart fra thir iles forsaide, lyes the grate ile of Ywst, 34 myles lange from southwest to the northeist, sex myle braid, ane fertile countrey and maine laiche land, full of heigh hills and forests on the eist cost, ore southeist, and all plenisht laiche land in the northwest, with five paroche kirkes. Within this south part of Ywst, on the east cost of the same, layes ane salt water loche callit Vayhastill.<sup>8</sup> This countrey is bruiked by sundrey captains; to witt, the south southwest end of it, callit Bayhastill,<sup>9</sup> be M'Neill of Barray, the rest of the ile, named Peiter's<sup>10</sup> parochin, the parochin of Howse,<sup>11</sup> and the mayne land of the mid countrey callit Mackermeanache, perteins to Clanronald, halding of the Clandonald. At the end heiroyf the sea enters, and cuts the countrey be ebbing and flowing through it: and in the north syde of this there

<sup>1</sup> Gighay, with a broken cross and the remains of a church. <sup>2</sup> Fiaray.

<sup>3</sup> Jamieson suggests *lampreys* or *conger eels*. <sup>4</sup> Tribute. <sup>5</sup> Eriskay.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the pipe-fish. <sup>7</sup> Uist. <sup>8</sup> Loch Boisdale; in B., Byisdal.

<sup>9</sup> Boisdale. <sup>10</sup> Kilpeader. <sup>11</sup> Howmore.

is ane parochin callit Buchagla,<sup>1</sup> pertaining to the said Clاندonald. At the north end thereof the sea cuts the countrey againe, and that cutting of the sea is called Careynesse,<sup>2</sup> and benorth this countrey is called Kenehnache<sup>3</sup> of Ywst, that is in Englishe, the north head of Ywst, whilk termis<sup>4</sup> twa parochie kirks, and is mair of profit than the rest of haill of Ywst, pertaining to Donald Gormesone. In this ile there are infinite number of fresh water loches; but ther is ane maine loche callit Lochebi,<sup>5</sup> three myle lange, and a arme of the sea has worne the earth, that was at the ae<sup>6</sup> end of this loche, quilk the sea has gotten enteries to this fresche water loche, and in that narrow entries that the sea has gotten to the loche, the countrey men has bigit upe ane thicke dyke of rough staines, and penney stanes caste lange narrest,<sup>7</sup> notwithstanding the flowing streams of the sea enters throughe the said dyke of stanes in the said fresche water loche, and so ther is continually gettin stiking<sup>8</sup> amange the roughe stains of the dyke foresaid, fluikes, podloches,<sup>9</sup> skatts, and herings. Upone this loche ther is gottin a kynd of fishe, the quhantitie and shape of ane salmont, but it has na skails<sup>10</sup> at all; the under haffe, narrest his vombe<sup>11</sup> is quhyte, and the upmaist haffe narrest his back, is als black as jett, with fines like to a salmont. Into this north heid of Ywst ther is sundrie covis and holes in the earth, coverit with heddir above, quhilk fosters maney rebellis in the countrey of the north heid of Ywst.

155. Betwixt the Kentnache and Benvalgha<sup>12</sup> lyes ane very small ile, callit———

156. HELSKER NAGAILLON.<sup>13</sup> Be aught myle of sea frae this ile, towards the west, lyes ane ile four myle and haff myle braid, luiche maine land, callit Heskier Nagailon. It has abundance of corne, and elding<sup>14</sup> for fire. It pertains to the Nuns of Columkill.

157. HAYSKER.<sup>15</sup> To the northwast fra this Kentnache of Ywst, be twalve myle of sea, lyes ane ile, callit Haysker,

<sup>1</sup> Benbecula. <sup>2</sup> Carinish. <sup>3</sup> The north end of Uist. <sup>4</sup> Possesses. <sup>5</sup> Loch Bee. <sup>6</sup> One. <sup>7</sup> Flat stones placed lengthwise. <sup>8</sup> Entangled. <sup>9</sup> The name is applied to different kinds of fish in different districts of Scotland. <sup>10</sup> Scales. <sup>11</sup> Belly. <sup>12</sup> Benbecula (Beanweall). <sup>13</sup> Afterwards called Helskyr na Monich, i.e., Helskyr of the Nuns. <sup>14</sup> Fuel. <sup>15</sup> In B., Heiskyr.

quherin infinit slaughter of selchis is. This ile pertains to Donald Gormsone.

158. HIRTA.<sup>1</sup> To the west northwest of this ile foresaid, out in the mayne ocean seas, be threescore of myle of sea, layes ane ile callit Hirta, ane maine laiche ile, sa far as is manurit of it, abundant in corne and gressing, namelie for sheipe, for ther ar fairer and greiter sheip ther, and larger tailed,<sup>2</sup> then ther is in any uther ile about. The inhabitants therof ar simple poor people, scarce learnit in aney religion, bot M'Cloyd of Herry, his stewart, or he quhom he deputs in sic office, sailes anes in the yeir ther at midsummer, with some chaplaine to baptize bairnes ther, and if they want a chaplaine, they baptize ther bairns themselves. The said stewart, as he himself tauld me, uses to take ane maske<sup>3</sup> of malt ther with a masking fatt,<sup>4</sup> and makes his malt, and ere the fatt be ready, the comons of the town, baith men, weemen, and bairns, puts their hands in the fatt, and findis it sweet, and eets the greyns<sup>5</sup> after the sweetness thereof, quhilk they leave nather wirt<sup>6</sup> or draffe<sup>7</sup> unsuppit out ther, quharwith baith men, women, and bairns, were deid drunken, sua that they could not stand upon their feet. The said stewart receives thir dewties in miell and reistit<sup>8</sup> mutton, wyld foullis reistit, and selchis. This ile is maire nor ane mile lange, and narrest als meikle in braid, quhilk is not seine of aney shore, bot at the shoresyde of it lyes three grate hills, quhilk are ane pairt of Hirta, quhilk are seen affar off from the fore landis. In this fair ile is fair sheipe, falcon nests and wyld fousl biggand, but the streams of the sea are starke, and are verey evil entring in aney of the saids iles. This ile of Hirta pertains of auld to M'Cloyd of Herry.

159. VALAY.<sup>9</sup> At the northwest cost of the foresaid Kentnache lyes ane ile callit Valay, twa myle lang from the north to the south, ane myle braid, ane fayr mayne ile, inhabit and manurit, pertaining to Donald Gormsone.

<sup>1</sup> St Kilda. <sup>2</sup> This is the mark of a good breed. <sup>3</sup> A brew. <sup>4</sup> A brewing-vat. <sup>5</sup> Grains. <sup>6</sup> Wort, the specific name for the malt liquor before fermentation. <sup>7</sup> Refuse of the malt. <sup>8</sup> Dried. <sup>9</sup> Vallay, with two crosses and a fragment of one of the three chapels. They are mentioned by Martin (Muir, p. 47)

160. SOA.<sup>1</sup> Betwixt this Kentnache and the Herray<sup>2</sup> lyes ane ile callit Soa, inhabit and manurit, ane myle lang, mayne land, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

161. THE PIGMIES ILE.<sup>3</sup> At the north poynt of Lewis there is a little ile, callit the Pigmies ile, with ane little kirk in it of ther awn handey wark. Within this kirk the ancients of that countrey of the Lewis says, that the saids pigmies has been eirded thair. Maney men of divers countreys has delvit up dieplie the flure of the little kirke, and I myselve amanges the leave,<sup>4</sup> and hes found in it, deepe under the erthe, certain baines and round heads of wonderful little quantity, allegit to be the baines of the said Pigmies, quhillk may be lykely, according to sundry historys that we reid of the Pigmies; but I leave this far of it to the ancients of Lewis. This ile pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

162. FABILL.<sup>5</sup> Besouth this, at the southeist shore of the Lewis, lyes ane ile, callit Ellan Fabill, verey guid for waike store<sup>6</sup> and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

163. ADAIN.<sup>7</sup> South fra this said cost lyes Ellan Adain, manurit, guid for waike<sup>8</sup> bestiall, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

164. NA-NAUN.<sup>9</sup> Upon the said shore, towards the west, lyes Ellan Na-naun, that is, the Lambes ile, wherein all the lambes of that end of the countrey uses to be fed and spained<sup>10</sup> fra the yowes. This ile perteines to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

165. HUITURE.<sup>11</sup> Betwixt this ile and Stornaway ther lyes Ellan Huiture, manurit, and guid for store and corne, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

166. VIC-COULL.<sup>12</sup> Southwart frae this iles lyes Ellan Vic-couill, ane guid ile for corne, store, and fishing, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

167. HALEURAY. Besides this layes Haleuray, ane guid ile for corne and grassing, verey excellent for fishing, of ane myle of lenthe, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

<sup>1</sup> Shillay; in B., Soa. <sup>2</sup> Harris. <sup>3</sup> Ylen Dunibeg. <sup>4</sup> Rest. <sup>5</sup> E. mor Phabail; in B., Yl. na Fabble. <sup>6</sup> Feeble cattle. <sup>7</sup> In B., Yl. Adam. <sup>8</sup> Weak. <sup>9</sup> E. nan Uan; in B., Ylen na Nuan. <sup>10</sup> Weaned. <sup>11</sup> Eilean Thuilm. <sup>12</sup> In B., Vickoil.

168. LAXAY.<sup>1</sup> Besides this lyes the ile of Laxay, ane guid ile, full of corne and gressing, and all fishing, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

169. ERR.<sup>2</sup> Besides this ile of Laxay lyes ane ile callit Err, which is in English Irland, laiche mayne and full of corne and grass, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

170. ST COLMES ILE.<sup>3</sup> Within the loches foresaid lyes Ellan Colmkill, that is in English St Colmes ile. Within this ile M'Cloyd of the Lewis has ane faire orchard, and he that is gardener hes that ile free guid in mayne land for corne, and gerssing and fishing, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

171. TOORAY.<sup>4</sup> Besides this ile lyes ane ile namit Ellan Tooray, ane ile weill manurit, guid for corn, grass, and fishing, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

172. ELLAN HURTE.<sup>5</sup> Southwart frae this lyes ane ile callit Ellan Hurte, with manurit land, guid to pasture and schielling of store, with faire hunting of ottars out of their bouries.<sup>6</sup> It perteines to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

173. SCALPAY OF HARRAY. Southwart far frae this lyes ane ile callit Scalpay of Harray, twa myle lange, ane profitable ile in corn, gressing, and fishing. It perteins to M'Cloyd of Harray.

174. FLADAY.<sup>7</sup> Towards the northeist frae this ile, be 20 myle of sea, lyes an ile in the sea callit Fladay, halfe myle lange, ane profitable ile in corne, and grassing, and fishing, perteing to Donald Gormesone.

175. SENTA.<sup>8</sup> Northwart frae this ile lyes ther ane ile callit Ellan Senta, that is in English a Saw, ane ile mair than twa myle lang, verey profitable for corne, store, and fishing, perteing to M'Cloyd of the Lewis. On the eist side of this ile ther is a bore,<sup>9</sup> maid like a vylt,<sup>10</sup> mair nore<sup>11</sup> an arrow shot of any man under the eirde, through the quilk vylt we use to row ore saill with our bottis, for fear of the horrible breake of the seas that is on the outwar side thereof, bot na grate shipes can saill ther. It perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

<sup>1</sup> In B., Laxa. <sup>2</sup> In B., Erin. <sup>3</sup> E. Cholum Chille in Loch Erisort; in B., Yl. Columb Kil. <sup>4</sup> Eilean Thorraidh; in B., Torray. <sup>5</sup> Eilean Iubhard.

<sup>6</sup> Burrows. <sup>7</sup> Fladda-chuain. <sup>8</sup> Shiant Islands. <sup>9</sup> Hollow passage. <sup>10</sup> Vault.

<sup>11</sup> Than.



176. SENCHASTLE.<sup>1</sup> Be eist this ile lyes ane ile, callit Senchastle by the Erishe, that is the alde castle ile in the Englishe, an strenthe, full of corne and grassinge, full of wyld fowls nests, and verey guid for fishing. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

177. ELLAN EW.<sup>2</sup> Upon the shore of Lochebrune<sup>3</sup> lyes Ellan Ew, haffe myle in length, full of woods, guid for thieves to wait upon uther mens gaire.<sup>4</sup> It pertains to M'Enzie.

178. GRUYNORDE.<sup>5</sup> Northwarte frae this ile lyes the ile of Gruynorde, maire nore ane myle lange, full of wood, guid for fostering of thieves and rebellis. It pertains to M'Enzie.

179. NA-CLERACHE.<sup>6</sup> Northwart fra this ile lyes ane ile callit Ellan Naclerache, an haffe myle lange, guid for gerssing and wyld fowls eggs, pertaining to M'Enzie.

180. AFUIL. Narrest this lyes the ile by the Erishe callit Ellan Afuil, guid for store and fishing.

181. HAWRARYMOIR.<sup>7</sup> Narrest this lies Hawrarymoir, by the Erish sa callit.

182. HAWRARYBEG.<sup>8</sup> Besides this lyes ane ile namit Hawrarybeg.

183. NANEACHE.<sup>9</sup> Besydes this lyes ane iland, by the Erishe callit Naneache.

184. MERTARYE.<sup>10</sup> Besides this lyes iland Mertarye.

185. SOYA-MOIR.<sup>11</sup> Besides this lyes ane ile, callit by the Erishe themselves Soya-moir. It is ane myle of lenthe, verey fertill and fruitfull, excellent for fisching.

186. ELLAN IISA.<sup>12</sup> Besides this lyes an ile, namit by the Erishe Ellan Iisa, manurit, fertill and fruitfull.

187. SENNA-BEG. Besides this lyes ther an ile Senna-beg, manurit, fertill and fruitful, guid for corne, store, and fishing, haff ane myle lange.

188. SENNA-MOIR.<sup>13</sup> Besydes this Senna-moir, ane ile of a

<sup>1</sup> These last three islands appear in B. as Fladda, Shen, Shen Chast. Beg, and Shen Chast. Moir, members of the Shiant group. <sup>2</sup> Ewe Island in Loch Ewe. <sup>3</sup> Loch Broom. <sup>4</sup> Gear, goods. <sup>5</sup> Gruinard in Loch Gruinard. <sup>6</sup> Priest Island; in B., Yl na Clairach. <sup>7</sup> Tanera More. <sup>8</sup> Tanera Beg. <sup>9</sup> Horse Island. <sup>10</sup> Martin Island. <sup>11</sup> Soay More in W. Loch Tarbert, Harris. <sup>12</sup> Isay. <sup>13</sup> The last-named islands are at the south-east corner of Harris, and all appear in Blaeu.

myle of lenthe and haff myle breadthe, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fishing.

189. TARANDSAY.<sup>1</sup> Besides this lyes Tarandsay, ane ile of five myle lange, and haff myle braid, ane rough ile, with certaine tounis, weil inhabit and manurit; bot all this fertill is delved with spaides, excepting sa meikell as ane horse pleuch will teill,<sup>2</sup> and yet they have maist abundance of beir, meikel of corn, store, and fishing. It pertains to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

190. SLEYEIN.<sup>3</sup> Besides this lyes the ile of Sleyein, manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

191. TIVEIN.<sup>4</sup> Besides this lyes Tivein, ane ile guid for store, corne, and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

192. SCARPE.<sup>5</sup> Besides this, out in the sea about Vsenesse in Harrey,<sup>6</sup> lyes ane ile callit the Scarpe, fertil and fruitful, guid for corne, store, and fishing, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

About the northe west coste of the Lewis, towards the mayne Occident seas, lyes certaine iles, of quhome wee will make mention, befor that wee shall begin with Harrey and Lewis, *to wit* :—

193. SEVEN HALEY ILES.<sup>7</sup> First, furth 50 myle in the Occident seas from the coste of the parochin Vye<sup>8</sup> in Lewis, towarts the west northwest, lyes the seven iles of Flanayn, claid with girth,<sup>9</sup> and Haley iles, verey natural gressing within thir saids iles; infinit wyld scheipe therein, quhillk na man knawes to quhom the said sheipe apperteines within them that lives this day of the countrymen; bot M'Cloyd of the Lewis, at certaine tymes in the yeir, sendis men in, and huntis and slayis maney of thir sheipe. The flesche of thir sheipe cannot be eaten be honest men for fatnesse, for ther is na flesche on them, bot all quhyte lyke talloune,<sup>10</sup> and it is verey wyld gusted<sup>11</sup> lykways. The saids iles are nounder

<sup>1</sup> Taransay, Harris. <sup>2</sup> Till. <sup>3</sup> In B., Slegan. <sup>4</sup> In B., Tulme. <sup>5</sup> Scarpa.

<sup>6</sup> Harris. <sup>7</sup> Flannan or Holy Islands, or the Seven Hunters. <sup>8</sup> Uig.

<sup>9</sup> Covered with pasture. <sup>10</sup> Tallow. <sup>11</sup> Flavoured.

manurit nor inhabit, bot full of grein high hills, full of wyld sheipe in the seven iles forsaide, quhilk may not be outrune. They pertaine to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

194. GARVELLAN.<sup>1</sup> Besydis this coste of Lewis, towards the said northwest, lyes ane ile callit Garvellan, guid for store and fisching.

195. LAMBAY.<sup>2</sup> Besydis this ile lyes ane uther ile namit Lambay, guid also for store and fishing, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

196. FLADAY.<sup>3</sup> Besydis the ils of Lambay lyes ane uther ile, by the Erische namit Fladay of the Lewis, ane pretty laiche ile, guid for store and fishing. It appertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

197. KEALNSAY.<sup>4</sup> Besydis this lyes Kealnsay, ane guid ile, narrest ane myle lange, fruitful for store and fishing, and also manurit, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

198. BERNERAY-BEG.<sup>5</sup> Besydis this Kealnsay forsaide layes Berneray-beg, haffe ane myle lange, and ane myle of breadthe, ane laiche rough ile, full of little roughe craiges and how<sup>6</sup> betwixt, of naturall fertile eirthe, with infinite sea ware<sup>7</sup> on every stane of the same. This ile is weill inhabit and manurit, and will give mair nor twa hundred bows<sup>8</sup> of beire, with delving only. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

199. BERNERAY-MOIR.<sup>9</sup> Besydis this lyes Berneray-moir, ane ile of five myle lang, inhabit and manurit, fertill and fruitfull, with maney pastures and meikell store, guid for fisching, and fewell also. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

200. KERTAY.<sup>10</sup> Besydis this ile lyes Kertay, ane ile of a myle in lenthe, inhabit and manurit, fertill and fruitful, guid for store and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

201. BUYA-BEG.<sup>11</sup> Besydis this lyes Buya-beg, an ile inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

202. BUYA-MOIR.<sup>12</sup> Besydis this lyes the ile, callit by the

<sup>1</sup> In B., Garvellan. <sup>2</sup> In B., Lamba. <sup>3</sup> In B., Flada. <sup>4</sup> In B., Kellasa. <sup>5</sup> Little Bernera. <sup>6</sup> Hollow. <sup>7</sup> Seaweed. <sup>8</sup> Bolls. <sup>9</sup> Great Bernera. <sup>10</sup> In B., Kyrta. <sup>11</sup> Bhuidha Bheag; in B., Uia Beg. <sup>12</sup> Bhuidha Mhor.

Erishe Buya-moir, mair nore ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

203. VAXAY.<sup>1</sup> Besydis this lyes ane ile, by the Erishe namit Vaxay, ane guid mayne ile, of ane myle lenthe, inhabit and manurit, full of natural pasture, for store, fisching, and excellent guid fewall. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

204. PABAY.<sup>2</sup> Besydis this ile lyes Pabay, an ile maire nore ane myle lange, ane fruitfull and fertile mayne ile, full of corne and scheipe, quherein ther was a kirke, quherein also M'Cloyd of the Lewis ussit to dwell, quhen he wald be quyeit, or yet fearit. This ile is guid for fisching, and pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

205. SIGRAIN-MOIR-NAGOINEIN.<sup>3</sup> Besydis this Pabay layes the ile which the Erishemen calleth Sigrain-moir-Nagoinein, that is to say the Cuninges ile, quherein ther are manay cuninges. This ile is guid for gressing and fisching, and pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

206. SIGRAIN-BEG. Besydis this ile layes Sigrain-beg, ane fertill and fruitfull ile, guid for corne, gressing and fisching, ane myle of lenthe. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

207. HARREY.<sup>4</sup> Now we retorne backwards to the Harrey, quhilk is bot ane ile and the Lewis togidder, extending in lenthe from the south west to the north eist to three scoir of myles, and from the north west to the south eist to 16 myle in breid. Within the south pairt of this ile lyes ane monastery with ane steipell, quhilk was foundit and biggit by M'Cloyd of Harrey, callit Roodill.<sup>5</sup> This south pairt of the countrey, callit Harrey, is verey fertill and fruitfull for corne, store, and fisching, twisse <sup>6</sup> mair of delving in it nor of teilling. Within this end of the countrey ther is ane water, with an guid take of salmont fisching in it, with ane heighe greine hill callit Copesaall,<sup>7</sup> maist excellent for scheipe in the pairts quhereon there wes scheipe, quhen I wes ther, without auners,<sup>8</sup> and very ald. In this countrey

<sup>1</sup> Vacsey. <sup>2</sup> Pabaidh Mhor. <sup>3</sup> In B., Sigram Moir na Geinen. <sup>4</sup> Harris.

<sup>5</sup> The Church of St Clement, near the harbour of Rodil. It is still nearly perfect. <sup>6</sup> Twice. <sup>7</sup> Bein Chaipabhall, 1200 feet high. <sup>8</sup> Owners.

of Harrey, northwart betwixt it and the Lewis, are maney forrests, quherein are aboundance deir, bot not grate quantitie, verey faire hunting games without any woodes, with infinite slaughter of otteres and martrickes.<sup>1</sup> This ile has neather wolves, taides, nor edders in it.

Lewis is the north pairt of this ile, and the maist also, faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile fruitfull cuntry, for the most part all beire, with 4 paroch<sup>2</sup> kirks, and with ane castell callit Steornaway; with 3 principal salt water loches, verey guid for take of herrings, to wit, Loche Selga,<sup>3</sup> farrest to the southwest, Loche Fasirt,<sup>4</sup> northwart fra that ane loche that is lange and has certaine small loches in it, quhilke is for the same cause callit the Loches. By these there is uther 3 loches, not eivill qulylomes for take of herrings, to wit, Loche Steornaway, with infinit fresche water loches in this Lewis. Ther are 8 waters with take of salmont. In this ile ther are maney schiep, for it is verey guid for the same, for they lay furth ever one mures and glenis, and entir nevir in a house, and ther wool is but anes in the yiere plukit aff them in some fauldes. In this cuntry is peitmoss-land at the sea cost, and the place quhar he winnes<sup>5</sup> his peitts this yeir, ther he sawis his corne the next zeire, after that he guidds<sup>6</sup> it weill with sea ware. A grait take of whailles is oftymes in this cuntry, so that be relatione of the maist ancient in this cuntry, ther comes 26 or 27 quhailles young and ald to the teynd anes ther. Ther is ane cove in this cuntry quherein the sea fallis, and is twa fadome deepe at the ebb sea, and four faddom and mair at the full sea. Within this cove ther uses whytteins<sup>7</sup> to be slain with huikes, verey maney haddocks, and men with their wands sitting upon the craiges of that cove, and lades<sup>8</sup> and women also.

208. RONAY.<sup>9</sup> Towards the north northeist from Lewis, thre score myles<sup>10</sup> of sea, lyes ane little ile callit Ronay, laiche maine lande, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione. This ile is uther haffe myle lange,

<sup>1</sup> Martins. <sup>2</sup> Martin enumerates nineteen churches, all of which are now in ruins. <sup>3</sup> Loch Sealg. <sup>4</sup> Erisort (?). <sup>5</sup> Procures. <sup>6</sup> Manures it carefully. <sup>7</sup> Whittings. <sup>8</sup> Lads. <sup>9</sup> North Rona. <sup>10</sup> In *Orig. Paroch.* the distance is said to be 50 miles north.



and haffe myle braide; aboundance of corne growes on it by delving onlie, aboundance of clover gerse for sheipe. Ther is an certain number of ky<sup>1</sup> and sheipe ordainit for this ile be thir awin ald right, extending to sa maney as may be sustainit upon the said gerssing, and the countrey is so fertill of gerssing, that the superexcrecens<sup>2</sup> of the said ky and schiepe baith feides them in flesche, and als payes ther dewties with the samen for the maist pairt. Within this ile there is sic faire whyte beir meil made like flour, and quhen they slay ther sheipe, they slay them belly flaught,<sup>3</sup> and stuffes ther skins fresche of the bear meil, and send their dewties be a servant of M'Cloyd of Lewis, with certain reistit muttan, and mony reistit foulis. Within this ile there is ane chapell, callit St Ronay's chapell,<sup>4</sup> unto quhill chapell, as the ancients of the country alledges, they leave an spaid and ane shuil,<sup>5</sup> quhen any man dies, and upon the morrow findes the place of the grave markit with an spaid, as they alledge. In this ile they use to take maney quhails and uthers grate fisches.

209. SUILSKERAY.<sup>6</sup> Be sixteen myle of sea to this ile, towards the west, lyes ane ile callit Suilskeray, ane myle lang, without grasse or hedder, with highe blacke craigs, and black fouge<sup>7</sup> thereupon part of them. This ile is full of wylde foulis,<sup>8</sup> and quhen foulis hes ther birdes, men out of the parochin of Nesse in Lewis use to sail ther, and to stay ther seven or aught dayes, and to fetch hame with them their boitt full of dry wild foulis, with wyld foulis fedders. In this ile ther haunts ane kynd of foule callit the colk,<sup>9</sup> little less nor a guise,<sup>10</sup> quha comes in the ver<sup>11</sup> to the land to lay hir eggis, and to clecke<sup>12</sup> hir birds quhill she bring them to perfytness, and at that time her fleiss<sup>13</sup> of fedderis falleth of her all haily,<sup>14</sup> and she sayles to the mayne sea againe, and comes never to land quhyll the yier end againe, and then she comes with her new fleiss of fedderis. This fleiche that she leaves yeirly upon her nest hes nae pens<sup>15</sup> in the

<sup>1</sup> Cows. <sup>2</sup> Superabundance. <sup>3</sup> To slay *belly-flaught* is to bring the skin overhead as in flaying a hare (Jamieson). <sup>4</sup> Still standing. <sup>5</sup> Shovel.

<sup>6</sup> Shla Sgeir, has a rude chapel with a stone roof. <sup>7</sup> Fog, moss.

<sup>8</sup> Birds. <sup>9</sup> Eider duck. <sup>10</sup> Goose. <sup>11</sup> Spring. <sup>12</sup> Hatch. <sup>13</sup> Fleece. <sup>14</sup> Wholly.

<sup>15</sup> Quills.

fedderis, nor nae kind of hard thinge in them that may be felt or graipit,<sup>1</sup> bot utter<sup>2</sup> fyne downes.

[The writer of the "Description of the Western Islands," printed by Mr Skene in Vol. iii. of his *Celtic Scotland* concludes his description with the following interesting paragraph :—

"Thir haill Iles abovewritten gif thai were on ane end, are fourteen score and twelve mile of length and \_\_\_\_\_ miles of breid. The common accustomat of raising of thair men is 6000 men, quairof the 3d pairt extending to 2000 men aucht and sould be cled with attounes (French *hocquetons*) and haberchounis, and knapshal bonnetts, as thair lawis beir. And in raising or furthbringing of thair men ony time of zeir to quhatsumevir cuntrie or weiris, na labourers of the ground are permittit to steir furth of the cuntrie quhatevir thair maister have ado, except only gentlemen quhilkis labouris not, that the labour belonging to the teiling of the ground and wyning of thair corns may not be left undone, albeit thai byde furth ane haill zeir, as oftymes it happins quhen ony of thair particular Islands has to do with Irland or neighbours, that the haill cuntriemen bides furth watching thair enemies ane zeir, or thairby, as thai please. Not the les the ground is not the war labourit, nor the occupiers thairof are nather molestit, requirit, troublit nor permittit to gang furth of thair owin cuntrie and Ile quhair thay dwell."]

<sup>1</sup> Grippid.

<sup>2</sup> Perfectly.

## NEW TRADES AND INDUSTRIES

(1608–1624).

THE following letters were addressed to James I. by the Privy Council of Scotland between the years 1608–1624, and are selected from the collection entitled *The Melros Papers*,<sup>1</sup> which was published by the Abbotsford Club in 1837. This collection, consisting of two large volumes, is with few exceptions compiled from the Balfour Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library. The majority of these papers are of a purely political character; but certain of them deal with topics which bring them within the scope of the present volume. The account they give of the beginnings of two great Scottish industries is specially interesting, and enables us to realise the difficulties which attended the early industrial development of Scotland—difficulties arising at once from the natural poverty of the country, and from mistaken notions as to the laws that regulate the growth of trade and industry.

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*The Export of Timber* (1608).—We ressaued your maiesteis proclamatioun anent the restrent of transporting of tymmer, and having red and at grite lenth consideret the same, we can not bot rander vnto your heyneis oure most humble thankis for that gratiuous and comfortable rememberance and cair whiche your maiestie doeth still hald over this estate, that althocht your heyneis be absent in persone, yitt by your lyvelie and holesome directionis in euerie thing whiche may importe the

<sup>1</sup> The full title is *State Papers and Miscellaneous Correspondence of Thomas, Earl of Melros*. Melros was the distinguished lawyer, Sir Thomas Hamilton of the Hamiltons of Innerwick, who filled the office of Secretary of State for Scotland, and is known in Scottish tradition as "Tam of the Cowgate."

goode of this commounweele, your maiestie is ever present. It is notour, and we doubt not, bot your maiestie vnderstandis sufficientlie, that in no tyme bigane within the memorie of man, thair hes bene ony tymmer transported furth of this kingdome, the haill cuntrey being almost naiked, and mony years ago spoylled of all the tymmer within the same, so that now thair is no suche quantitie thairin, as may serve the hundreth pairt of the necessair vsois of the same, wherby your maiesteis subiectis hes bene constrayned, vnder the fauour and toleratioun of other princes, to mak thair prouision and furnissing of tymmer, and frome foreyne pairtis, to supplee this defect and want of thair awne cuntrey. And now, yff vnecessarlie and without ground, caus, or necessitie, suche a generall restrent salbe maid in this kingdome, it is verye probable and liklie that other princes, vpoun notice thair of, sall mak the lyke restrent in thair boundis, and sua altogidder spoyle your maiesteis subiectis of that so necessair a benefeit whiche goodlie thay can not want. And thairfoir (with your maiesteis correctioun), we think meete that this generall restrent sall onlie be astrictit to suche particular wodis as your maiestie intendis to mak vse of, for your awne schipping, and vtheris your necessair adois,<sup>1</sup> and that the proclamatioun mak spetiall mentioun thair of, wherby we are of opinioun, that it sall euerie wher ressaue a fauourable constructioun, and that no holde salbe tane thairvpoun, be ony foreyne prince, to mak a generall restrent within thair boundis, to the preiudice of this cuntrey. And as to the other parte of that proclamatioun, tuiching the prohibitioun of making of irne mylnis<sup>2</sup> in ony woddis or forrestis,<sup>3</sup> or destroying the tymmer thair of, vpoun the workeing of irne, it is thoght that the preparative thair of may carye some preiudice to your maiesteis subiectis, who, by the lawis and custome of this kingdome, ar free to mak vse of thair awne commoditeis within the cuntrey, to thair best advantage; and as we vndirstand, thair is not ane irne mylne within

<sup>1</sup> Business. <sup>2</sup> Smelting works. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Index to Acts of Parliament *sub voce* iron. "Some persons being about to erect iron mills in the Highlands to the utter wasting of the woods, ordered that no one make iron with wood or timber." This Act refers to 1609.

this cuntrey, and the litle quantitie of irne that is maid heir, is only wroght with scroggis,<sup>1</sup> boughis, and brancheis, and auld stokis<sup>2</sup> and cuttingis of tymmer, which can serve for no other vse, and thairfoir yff it may stand with your heyneis pleasour, we will entreate your maiestie to suffer that article to rest till this approcheing conuentioun of the esteatis, that then (seing it is a commoun actioun, wherin euery man pretendeth entres<sup>3</sup>), it may be reasouned, disputed, and ressaue auctoritie accordinglie.<sup>4</sup>

*The Curing of Herring* (1616).—Vpoun the resett of your maiesteis lettre, concerning that patent whilk your maiestie commandit to be exp<sup>d</sup> to your seruitour, Robert Hay,<sup>6</sup> for making of rid hering, we causit warne the pairtyis who had interest in the first twa patentis grantit be your maiestie in this mater, and who, as your maiestie wes informed, had gevin thair consent in fauours of the said Robert Hay; as alsua the prouest and baillies of Edinburgh for thame selffis, and in name of the burrowis, to compeir and declair quhat thay had to propone and obiect aganis the said patent; and the xvij day of September last, being the dyet appointit for that earand, the saidis pairtyis with the baillies and some of the counsaill of Edinburgh, compeirit, and after mony exceptionis tane be the saidis baillies aganis this patent, as being a monopole of a dangerous preparatiue and example, and hurtfull and preiudiciall to the haill burrowis, in the fredome and preuiledge of thair commerce and trade, and that the saidis pairtyis had no consent to gif to the said Robert Hay in this mater, becaus, at the laite conuentioun of burrowis, thay compeirit befor thame, and acknowledgeit thair ouersight in suteing<sup>7</sup> suche a patent so far aganis the freedome and preuilege of the burrowis,

<sup>1</sup> Stunted shrubs. <sup>2</sup> Stocks. <sup>3</sup> Interest. <sup>4</sup> In the *Register of Council* (March 11, 1612) it is stated that Sir George Hay has "interprysit and undertane" to bring within the kingdom of Scotland "the arte and practize of making of irne, and sindrie utheris not heirtfoir knowne, at the leist altogidder become in dissuetude," and has for this effect brought in "a grite number of strangeris" with whom many of the native subjects have been set to work (*Privy Council Records*, ix. 351). <sup>5</sup> Despatched. <sup>6</sup> Cf. *Privy Council Records*, x. 638. The king had written to the Lords of Privy Council granting an absolute patent to this Robert Hay for the manufacture of red herring, <sup>7</sup> Suing for.



and simpliciter renunceit the same. In end, thay come to this mayne pointe, that the making of rid hering wes no new trade,<sup>1</sup> practize, nor inventioun broght in this cuntrey be the said Robert, bot wes a trade formarlie practized and vused within the same, diuers yeiris afor ony motioun wes maid thair of to your maiestie, outhir be the said Robert or ony others, and that thairfor the said Robert could not, with reasoun, clame ony suche preuilege or fredome, as in some caises is tollerable, in the personis of these who ar the first discourerars, interprisaris, and inbringars of a new and proffitable trade within the cuntrey, not formarlie knowne within the same. This allegiance<sup>2</sup> being verie pregnant, and fund relevant to stay the said patent, it wes admittit to probatioun, and this present day wes assignit for proveing thair of. And diuers famous witnesses being producit and admittit in the presence of Williame Barclay, brother to the said Robert Hay, it wes cleirly verifeit and provin, that in the sax hundreth and nyne yeir of God, thair wes a number of rid hering maid at Dunbar, be certane maircheantis of this burgh, and that thay wer goode and sufficient maircheant wairis,<sup>3</sup> and that ane pairt thair of wer caryed to Newheavin, Deip,<sup>4</sup> Burdeaulx, and otheris pairtis in France, and thair sauld as goode and laughfull maircheandice, and that the rest wer sauld in this cuntrey. This probatioun conjoynd with most apparent and probable likliehody, that the said trade is lyke to prove verie proffitable to the hail cuntrey, whair of thair hes bene a verie goode prooffe and begynning this present yeir, in so far, as there is tua or three shippis laidnit with this sorte of hering maid within the cuntrey, and grite preparatioun and prouisioun daylie making be numbers of maircheantis agane the nixt yeir, hes moved ws to stay the said patent, and to declair the trade of making of rid hering to be free to all laughfull subiectis.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An Act of Parliament of 1424 decrees that the custom on every 1000 *red herrings* be 4d. <sup>2</sup> Allegation. <sup>3</sup> Wares. <sup>4</sup> Dieppe. <sup>5</sup> It would appear that several monopolies for the manufacture of red herring were granted about this period. In the *Privy Council Records* (x. 436) there is an account of two of these monopolies in conflict. Certain Edinburgh merchants, who had started a manufactory at Dunbar, lodged a complaint that a monopoly granted to one Archibald Campbell for the same purpose was an infringement of their own patent.

*An Unfortunate Merchant* (1619).—The wyffe and poore childreene of one Thomas Lotheane, maircheant in this burgh, hes verie havelie regraitit<sup>1</sup> vnto ws, the miserable and hard estate, and present conditioun of the said Thomas, who being a man past threescoir sax yeiris of aige, and haveing verie painefullie, cairfullie, and diligentlie, followit his trade of marcheandice with goode reporte, credit, and reputatioun, now be the space of fourtie yeiris, and being laitlie in the Easter seas, haueing in outred<sup>2</sup> and wairing<sup>3</sup> of his awne, aboue tuentie thowsand merkis, besydis other tuentie thowsand merkis in outred and wairing, quhairof he wes putt in truste be some of his nightbouris, in his returning home at Elsinwre,<sup>4</sup> quhair entrie wes maid of his ship and goodis, it fell oute, that ignorantlie, and vpoun meere simplicitie, some small and vnworthie portioun of goodis wer omittit in the entrie, without the knowlege or willing consent of the innocent auld man, quhairof notice being gevin to the toill<sup>5</sup> maisteris, be one of the equippage<sup>6</sup> of the ship, who profest the said Thomas euill will, thay immediatlie seased vpoun the ship and goodis, and hes confiscat the same to the vse and behooffe of youre maiesteis darrest<sup>7</sup> brother, the king of Denmark,<sup>8</sup> vnto quhome the aiged man, haueing oft and diuers tymes meaned<sup>9</sup> him self in all humilitie, craueing pitie and consideratioun to be had of his hard estate, and of the distresse and trouble quhairin ignorantlie he is fallin, he ressaues no other ansueris bot direct refusallis of restitutioun, and he stayis still thair, in grite necessitie and want, following youre maiesteis said darrest brother and his courte, frome place to place, without ony conditioun or hoip of restitution: Quhairupoun his nightbouris of this toun quho patt<sup>10</sup> him in truste of thair goodis, laying the blame of the said confiscatioun vpoun him, hes intentit actioun aganis him, and intendis to evict and comprise<sup>11</sup> frome him the small remanent of his goodis, that he left heir behind him, to the vtter wrake<sup>12</sup> and vndoing of him, his poore wyffe and childreene; and he him self dar not, nor can not come home, for feare of suche personall

<sup>1</sup> Made complaint. <sup>2</sup> Outlay. <sup>3</sup> Expense. <sup>4</sup> Elsinore. <sup>5</sup> Toll. <sup>6</sup> Crew.

<sup>7</sup> Dearest. <sup>8</sup> James's wife was Anne, daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark.

<sup>9</sup> Made known his grievance. <sup>10</sup> Put. <sup>11</sup> Seize. <sup>12</sup> Wreck.

executioun as be law may be dew aganis him; sua, that be appeirance his gray hairis sall with greif, sorrow, and wracke, go to the graue in Denmark. This being a mater of pitie and commiseratioun, we haif presoomed, in all reuerence, to present the same to youre maiesteis princelie and fauourable consideratioun, humelie beseiking youre maiestie, that youre maiestie wald be gratuslie pleased to write on behalf of this aiged man, to youre maiesteis said darrest brother for restitutioun to be maid to him of his ship and goodis, seeing the omissioun foirsaid in the entrie of the ship and goodis proceded vpoun meere simplicitie and ignorance, and not vpoun ony foirthoght purpois of concealment.

*Foreign Merchant Vessels* (1619).—Haueing keepit a grite number of dyetis with the marcheantis and skipparis, anent that mater of the restreant of fraughting of strangearis shippis,<sup>1</sup> sa oft recommendit be your maiestie vnto ws, and haueing at verie grite lenthe, and with goode aduise and deliberatioun, hard and discussit the hail ressonis and obiectionis, with the ansueris, replyis, and duplyis gevin in and proponnit be worde and write thairanent, in end, after lang debait and contestatioun on ather syde, we broght thame to this point, that with mutuall consent the restreante for all tradis, except the easterlyne trade,<sup>2</sup> wes aggreit vpoun, and nyne personis wer nominat and sworne for ather syde to sett down the fraughtis;<sup>3</sup> towitt, sax marcheantis and three marcheant awnaris,

<sup>1</sup> James's doctrine on this subject is summed up in the following sentence:—"Natural reason teaches us that Scotland, being part of an isle, cannot be maintained or preserved without shipping, and shipping cannot be maintained without employment, and the very law of nature teacheth every sort of corporation, kingdom, or country first to set their own vessels on work, before they employ any stranger" (*Letters and Papers of the Reign of James VI.*, p. 31). Against James's proposal the Scottish burghs protested that if carried out "there is naething to be expected but decay and wrack to our shipping, insaemickle as the best ships of Scotland are continually employed in the service of Frenchmen, not only within the dominions of France, but also within the bounds of Spain, Italy, and Barbary, where their trade lies, whilk is ane chief cause of the increase of the number of Scots ships and of their maintenance, whereas by the contrary, the half of the number of the ships whilk are presently in Scotland will serve for our own private trade and negotiation." <sup>2</sup> That is, the trade with the countries bordering on the Baltic.

<sup>3</sup> Freights.

for the marcheantis, and sax skipparis and three marcheant awnaris, for the skipparis: whilkis personis, in diuers meetingis had be thame for that effect, did verie weele agree vpoun the fraughtis, and sett the same down to the full contentment and lykeing of all partyis. Bot, anent the easterlyne trade, we fand so mony difficulteis thairin, and sa mony cleir and sensible grevanceis to follow thairupoun, as we could not without the euident hurte of the haill cuntrey yeild thairunto; ffor this easterlyne trade consistis altogidder of suche necessair wairis as the cuntrey can not want, especiallie of tymmer, pik<sup>1</sup> and tar, quhilkis being neirby nyne of ten pairtis of that haill trade, thay ar not able to beare suche fraughtis as oure cuntrey shippis may serue for: nather haif we shippis meete and commodious for that trade; but these wairis being importit be strangearis at easie and reasounable fraughtis, thay ar accordinglie sauld at moderat pryceis to youre maiesteis subiects, whereas yf the restreant were allowit, not onlie wald the pryceis of thir necessair wairis be extraordinarie highted,<sup>2</sup> bot the cuntrey, through laik of cuntrey shipping commodious for that trade, wald be in dangeir to be spoylled of the saidis wairis. And this being the trew respect and caus diverting ws frome the restreante in that pairt, we pronunceit and intimat the same to the pairtyis, bot so far wer the skipparis frome acquiescing thairunto, and frome imbraceing the restreante for the southe and west tradis, as they past frome all that wes done in this bussynes, desiring, according to thair formair protestationis ever maid in the haill progres of this proces, that thay might be reponnit in thair awne placeis, and that no restreante sould be maid at all, vnles the easterline trade wer comprehendit. This being the effect of oure proceedingis in this bussynes, we humelie present the same to youre maiesteis consideratioun, beseeking youre maiestie not to tak in evill pairt, that this restreante for the easterlyne trade wes not concludit, since the sensible and seene<sup>3</sup> hurte of the cuntrey wes the occasioun thairof.

*Magistrates and their Robes* (1619).—Hauing, according to youre maiesteis directioun, causit charge the prouest, baillies,

<sup>1</sup> Pitch. <sup>2</sup> Raised. <sup>3</sup> Visible.



deane of gild, thesaurair, and some of the counsell of Edinburgh, to provide thame selfis with rid scarlatt gownis, betuix and the xxiiij day of December instant, thay thair-upoun become petitionaris vnto ws, that we wald impart vnto your maiestie the difficulteis and ressonis gevin in be thame quhairfoir thay can not goodlie be burdynnit with the saidis gownis; To witt, that quhairas by the constant custome of the said burgh, inviolablie obseruit in all tyme bigane, the weareing of blak gownis as a most decent, grave, and comelie habite, beseameing magistratis of burrowis, hes onlie bene in vse within the said burgh, and quhairwith the same hes alwayes bene verie sufficientlie and weele furnist, yitt at the tyme of your maiesteis late comeing to this kingdome, the haill magistratis and counsell of the said burgh for the tyme, with a grite number of the honnest nightbouris of the same, who of befoir were weele aneugh prouidit with goode and handsome gownis, wer inioyned to provide thame selffis of new with more ritche blak gownis, lynnit with blak veluott or coistlie furringis, for youre maiesteis receptioun within the said burgh.<sup>1</sup> Quhilk being accordinglie done be thame, for the credite and reputatioun of the said burgh, to thair grite chargeis and expenssis, youre maiestie wes graciouslie pleasit at that tyme to allow thair of, and the noblemen and otheris of England that attendit youre maiestie, and beheld the ordour obseruit within the said burgh, did acknoulege the same to be bothe ritche, grave, and comelie. And now, yf a necessitie of rid gownis salbe vrged vpoun thame, and consequentlie vpoun thair successouris, thair wilbe few or nane had to accept ony charge or office within the said burgh heirefter, be ressoun that not onlie will thay be withdrawne frome thair awne calling, and tyne<sup>2</sup> thair tyme and handling for that yeir, bot this new burdyne of rid gownis, quhilk wilbe verie chargeable and expensiuie vnto thame, will ly vpoun thame. And quhairas the custome of England may be obietit to thame, thay ansuer, that thair conditioun in this cause

<sup>1</sup> We read that on the occasion of James's visit to Scotland in 1617, "the provost, bailies and council, and a number of citizens arrayed in gowns [of plain velvet], and others standing with speat staves, received him at the post" (*Calendar of State Papers*). <sup>2</sup> Lose.



is not alyke, ffor these of England, serueing in the lyke placeis, hes goode allowance and fees able to raimburs<sup>1</sup> thair haill chargeis, and the office of Alderman thair is *ad vitam*, whereas the magistratis and counsell of the burrows of this kingdome ar changeable yeirlie, and thay ar not capable of thair placeis the yeir following, and thay serve freelie without fee or allowance. And towcheing that point inioyned to the prouest to weare a grite chayne of gold in tyme of Parliamentis or otheris solempniteis, thay ansuer, that the prouest of Edinburgh hes no place in the Parliament House, and is never imployed as a commissioner thair; and, yf he haif occasioun to kyithe<sup>2</sup> at these tymes, it is vpoun the streit in armes, accompanied with the nightbouris of the toun for gairding of the Parliament; at whiche tyme a gold chayne is nather seamelie nor fitting. Thir being the ressonis gevin in be thame to ws, we humelie present the same to youre maiesteis consideratioun, assuring youre maiestie, that the magistratis and haill counsell of the said burgh do euerye Sunday, and otheris dayis of solempnitie, weare thair blak gownis in decent and comelie forme and ordour: and we wilbe humble intercessouris vnto youre maiestie in thair fauours, that in regaird of the mony grite burdynis lyand vpoun the said burgh, and the grite chargeis thay haif bene at thir diuers yeiris bigane, bothe in thair priuat and publict adois, that youre maiestie wald be pleasit to dispens with thame anent thair rid gownis, conditionallie, that thay weare thair blak gownis in maner, and at the tymes prescryued in your maiesteis directionis formarlie gevin heiranent.

*A New Manufacture* (1620).—The caus quhairfor we haif so lang deferred the returning of oure opinioun vnto your maiestie towcheing the signatour<sup>3</sup> of the burgh of Edinburgh, anent the new worke intendit and begyn thair, for making of cloathis and stuffis of diuers kindis within the said burgh and liberties thair of, proceidit frome the cair we had, according to youre maiesteis most iuditious and princelie directioun, not onlie to foirsee that no

<sup>1</sup> Reimburse. <sup>2</sup> Appear in public. <sup>3</sup> "A draft of a royal grant bearing the sign-manual of the King, which thus became the warrant of the charter" (Jamieson, edit. 1882).

preiudice might thairby ensew to otheris, youre maiesteis subiectis, interprising the lyke workis outwith<sup>1</sup> the liberteis of the said burgh heirefter, bot with that to strenthen and assist the said burgh, with such laughfull warrandis and auctoritie, as might encourage them to sett fordwart the said worke; ffor quhilk purpois, we first appointit some of oure awne nomber, and some baronis, gentilmen, and burgessis of Lotheane and Fyffe, to conveene and meit with the commissionaris of the said burgh, and to considder and examine the said signatoure, and the whole headis, claussis, and articlis of the same, and to confer and ressoun thairvpoun, and in suche pointis as thay could espy ony preiudice, outhir to youre maiestie or the estate, to acquent ws thairwith, and with thair opinionis anent the reformeing of the same. At whilk meeting, the said signatour being verie narroulie and exactlie examined, and some questionis and doubtis being proponed and moued thairanent, and presented to the consideratioun of the counsaill table, and the commissionaris of the said burgh, being, at verie grite lenthe, and at diuers and sindrie dyetis, hard thairvpoun; in end, after diuers conferenceis and meitingis with thame, we haif cleirlie discussit all the obiectionis and doubtis proponned againis the said signatour, and, with mature aduise and deliberatioun, we haif causit draw vp ane new signatour, heirwith send vnto youre maiestie, markit on the bak be the clark of youre maiesteis Counsaill, quhairin we haif maid suche prouisionis, limitationis, and restrictionis, for the weele of youre maiesteis subiectis, as, in our opinioun, no claus nor article thairof can with ressoun be impugned. This is a verie worthie and notable worke, and in appeirance the best for the commounweele that for mony yeiris ago hes bene intendit within this kingdome. It hes coist the said burgh a grite deale of money, with suche a willing consent and contributioun of the honest inhabitants, as the lyke hes not bene hard of within the said burgh. Thair is a number of handsome and commodious houssis alreddy biggit for this worke, and some famileis of strangearis els plantit and sett to worke thairin; and the worke is so substantiouslie bakkit<sup>2</sup> and haldin fordwart be the said burgh, that we ar in verie

<sup>1</sup> In opposition to, <sup>2</sup> Supported.

goode hoip that it sall not onlie prove honnorable, bot proffitable for the whole cuntrey. And thairfoir, yf youre maiestie salbe pleased to allow of this signatour, and returne the same to ws vnder youre maiesteis hand, we sall caus expeid and pas the same accordinglie.

*The Export of Grain* (1624).—The importatioun of foreyne victuall hes bene so frequent and commoun, and in so exceiding grite aboundance and quantite, thir tua or three yeiris bigane, as the most pairt of the moneyis of this kingdome hes bene exported and bestowit to that vse, wherupoun hes followit suche ane scairstie and penurie of money, that nomberis of your maiesties subiectis, of all rankis, whose burdynis straited thame at this terme, and who wer willing and responsall, in landis and goodis, to haif gevin vnto thair creditoures satisfactioun, wer, to thair grite greiff, dishabled, through the scairstie of moneyis, to do the same. The consideratioun quhairof moued ws, vpoun the humble petitioun of Williame Dik, and Williame Wilkye, burgess of Edinburgh, who wer speciall importaris of this victuall, and had suche ane quantitie thair of lyand vpoun thair hand, and readdie to spill,<sup>1</sup> be reasoun it wes sa soone broght in, and thair wes few or nane to buy it, to grant vnto thame ane licence, for exportatioun of ane certane quantitie of the same victuall, especiallie quhyte, whilk wes the grayne the cuntrey stode least in neede of, and wherewith thay vndertooke to bring in money, or, gif the necessitie of the cuntrey should require, the double quantitie of ony other soirt of victuall, whilk wes more vsefull for the cuntrey. And thay, having laidnit tua shippis with this victuall, and being vpoun thair course towardis thair porte, expecting nothing les then ony hurte frome ony, with whome your maiestie yitt standis in termes of freindship and correspondence, thair shippis wer, notwithstanding, persewed, boordit, and tane, be tua warre shippis of Dunkirk, and caryed in to the toun of Dunkirk, where the shippis and goodis ar maid laughfull pryise. This is a mater whilk, in oure humble opinioun, wald be narrowlie aduertit and looked vnto, not so mekle for the priuat interesse of the tua honnest men, who

<sup>1</sup> Go to waste.

ar heirby verie far damnified, as for the publict interesse of the whole marcheant estate; for gif this be tollerate, and gif the forder course and progres thair of be not interruptit, the whole foreyne commerce of this kingdome, whilk, for the maist pairt, is interteyned with Holland, wilbe shaikin louse, and cutt af, to the vndoing, not onlie of the marcheant estate, bot to the grite hurte of the rest of the kingdome. And thairfoir wee will, in all humilitie, presooome to recommend this mater to your maiesties princelie and wyse consideratioun, humblie beseecheing your maiestie to tak suche ordour thairin, as, in the excellencie of your princelie wisdom, yow sall hold fitting, quhairthrow the honnest men may be redrest, and restorit to thair shippis and goodis, and the lyke of this attempt forborne heirafter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland show, the export and import of grain was a long-standing trouble in the country. The following extracts from the Index to these Acts will abundantly prove this:—"Victual not to be exported (1567); unwarranted customs on victual brought to ports and markets prohibited (1587); exportation of victual prohibited, the ships and goods of exporters of victuals by sea to be forfeited (1597); article that the importation and exportation of victual be regulated by its rise or fall below a fixed price, remitted to the Secret Council (1625); article for the removal of all restrictions on the importation of victual, such restrictions 'being without example in any part of the world,' and for the importation of victual, the south and west of Scotland requiring a supply from abroad even in plentiful years, remitted to the council (1633)."

## HABITS OF THE PEOPLE

(1610–1613).

THE following extracts from the *Privy Council Records* (Vol. ix.) fully bear out certain stinging criticisms on Scottish manners and customs made by travellers in the 16th and 17th centuries. Thus, with regard to the habits of drinking prevalent in the country, Fynes Moryson, not an unfriendly observer, writes:—"The country people and merchants used to drinke largely, the gentlemen somewhat more sparingly—yet the very courtiers, at feasts, by night meetings, and entertaining any stranger, used to drinke healths not without excesse, and (to speake truth without offence), the excesse of drinking was then farre greater in generall among the Scots than the English. Myselfe being at the Court invited by some Gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to feare this excesse, would not promise to sup with them—but upon condition that my Inviter would be my protection from large drinking, which I was many times forced to invoke, being courteously entertained, and much provoked to garussing,<sup>1</sup> and so for that time avoided any great intemperance. Remembering this, and having since observed in my conversation at the English Court with the Scots of the better sort, that they spend great part of the time in drinking, not onely wine, but even beere, as myselfe will not accuse them of great intemperance, so I cannot altogether free them from the imputation of excesse, wherewith the popular voice chargeth them."

*English Beer in Scotland.*—Forsamekle as, albeit proclamatiounis hes bene maid and publist heirtfoir upoun verie good advise and deliberatioun prohibiting and dischairgeing

<sup>1</sup> Carousing (German, *garous*).



the selling of Englishe beir darrer<sup>1</sup> nor xviii<sup>d</sup> the pynt, under certane panes mentionat in the actis and proclamatiounis maid theranent, directionis being lykwise gevin that the marchantis hambringaris<sup>2</sup> of the beir sould sell the bune<sup>3</sup> thairof at sex pund the bune, quhairthrow the ventennar<sup>4</sup> and rynnar<sup>5</sup> of the said beir micht accordinglie sell the same for xviii<sup>d</sup> the pynt: notwithstanding it is of treuth that the said Englishe beir is commonlie sauld in all pairtis of the countrey for xxxii<sup>d</sup> the pynt and abone, and thair is suche a policie<sup>6</sup> usit betuix the sellar and the byaris of the said beir as hardlie can be knowne be whom the same is sauld, whairthrow the effect and executioun of the said proclamationis is lyk to frustrat and voyd without remeid be providit: Thairfoir the Lordis of Secrete Counsell ordanes letters to be direct to command and charge the haill merchantis bringaris of beir within this kingdome, that thay and every ane of thame, within the space of aucht dayis eftir the selling of thair beir, gif up to the Clerk of his Majesteis Counsell the names of the persone or personis quhatsomevir to whom thay haif sauld the said beir, to the effect the saidis Lordis may then gif ordour and directioun for trying upoun quhat priceis the said beir wes ventit<sup>7</sup> and rune, under the pane of twenty pundis to be incurrit be every marchant who sall bring hame beir and sell the same as said is: certifeing thame that failyeis or dois in the contrair that the said pane salbe upliftit of thame without favour.”<sup>8</sup>

*Wine-drinking.*—Forsamekle as, to the grite offence of God, no small reprotche to the countrey, and to the utter undoing and impoverischeing of a grite many subjectis of the commoun sorte, and most specialie of artisanes and craftis-men<sup>9</sup> within burghis and townes, thair is so huge and superfluous ane exces and ryot in drinking of wyntnes importit from

<sup>1</sup> Dearer. <sup>2</sup> Importers. <sup>3</sup> Boin, boyen, or boyn=a tub. <sup>4</sup> Vintner. <sup>5</sup> Runner. <sup>6</sup> Craft. <sup>7</sup> Sold. <sup>8</sup> According to Fynes Moryson, the richer citizens of Edinburgh brewed their own ale, “their usual drink (which will distemper a stranger’s bodie).” Cf. also *E.T.*, p. 141. <sup>9</sup> It is curious to find even the artisans and craftsmen drinking foreign wines in such excess. As regards the gentry, Thomas Kirk bears emphatic testimony. “Wine,” he says, “is the great drink of the gentry, which they pour in like dishes [*cogues*], as if it were their natural element” (*E.T.*, p. 264).

beyond seas as oftentymes the unsatiable thirst and druckin dispositioun of the husband, specialie of workmen within townes, spending the whole day in tavernis whill thay sould be working in thair choppis<sup>1</sup> and boothis, doeth mak the wyff and children at home to famishe for hunger : upoun whiche custome of waist and unthrift all sic commoditeis wroght within the countrey as micht be sauld at ressounable raites and priceis ar so raised and enhaunsed to the generall loss of the commonis and schame of the countrey (the artisane proponeing<sup>2</sup> the price of his wairis not according to the worth thairof and his labouris takin thairon, bot answerable to his waistfull expensis in his taverne-drinking), quhairthro most men ar inforced to provyd thameselff from uther pairtis of these same commoditeis usuallie heirtfoir wroght within this kingdome ; which by all lykelihood is not onlie to turne to the ruyne, empoverisheing and decay of all good burrowis and townes, bot,—quhairas God haid sufficientlie by nature endowit this kingdome with sic cornis and grane quhairof most helthful drink micht be maid for the use and benefite of ony native within the same,—by this grite excesse of wyne-drinking both nobilman, baroun, and gentilman, quhair-of renew doeth consist in such provisionis, is disapointet in the trew worth thairof, bot the poore fermour and laborar of the ground is thairby verie fer<sup>3</sup> hurt, prejudgeit, and defraudit of the dew price and rewaird of his sore labouris and panes in the selling of ony cornis of that kynd : And whareas in all weill-governit kingdomes and commoun wealthis the disordinat appetyt to foreyne commoditeis, being unneces-sarie and imbroght more for pleasour nor proffeitt, hath bene usuallie prohibit and restranit by impositionis layed upoun the same, that, quhairas the reasoun of sobrietie and richt useing of Godis benefitis could not stay the subject from exces and superfluitie, yit the price of the commoditie ryising upoun the caus of the impost micht some way remember and admonishe thame to thair dewtie in this point : And his sacred Majestie, our most gracious soverane Lord out of his most princelie, royall and fatherlie cair and love to this his native kingdom, willing to provyd remeid to this abuse, and that these extraordinarie drunkardis may some

<sup>1</sup> Shops. <sup>2</sup> Rating. <sup>3</sup> Far, very much.

way be recalled frome their lewdnes and learned to mak use of that liquore to that end for which it was creat, to wit manis confort and preservatioun of his helth, and not maid to be the cutthrot of sa mony menis lyveis and robber of thair purseis, hes thairfore, with advise of the Lordis of his Hienes Prevey Counsell of this kingdome, over and abone his Majesteis ordinarie custome mentionat in the imprintit Book of Raitis, thocht meitt and expedient, concludit and resolvit, to rais and lift ane dewtie and impost of four pundis for everie tun of wyne quhilk hes bene ventit, run, and sauld in smallis<sup>1</sup> for everie pairt, burgh or town, of this kingdome sen the first day of November last, or quhilk salbe ventit, run, and sauld in smallis within the same kingdome at ony time heireftir, except within the burgh of Edinburgh and town of Leith: of the whelk dewtie of the wynes sauld within the said burgh of Edinburgh and town of Leyth his Majestie is alredy in possessioun be himselff and utheris haveing richt from his Majestie, and the said dewtie is now thankfullie and dewtifullie payit without murmour or grudge. And, whareas the most pairt of the wynes broght yeirlie within this kingdome ar ventit within the said burgh of Edinburgh and town of Leyth, quhair the dewtie and impost foirsaid is thankfullie and dewtifullie payit as said is, his Majestie nowis doubting [doubted?] bot resteth asuirit that all the rest of his Majesteis subjectis within this kingdome, ventennaris and rynnaris of wyne, will with the lyk goodwill and affectioun to his Majestie willinglie and thankfullie pay the said dewtie. And thairfor his Majestie, with advise foirsaid, ordanes letters to be direct to mak publicatioun heirof be oppin proclamatioun at all placeis neidfull, and to warne all his Majesteis subjectis ventennaris and rynnaris of wyne, what may be preparit and in reddiness to pay the dewtie foirsaid at the tymes and in manner specifeit and contenit in the letters to be direct and execut aganis thame thairanent, with intimatioun as effeiris.<sup>2</sup>

*Manufacture of Linen and Tiles.*—We ressavit you Majesteis letter tuiching the overtour and propositioun maid

<sup>1</sup> In retail. <sup>2</sup> Is customary.

unto your Majestie anent the making of linning clothe<sup>1</sup> in this kingdome in another sort and maner nor formerlie hes bene wrought heir, and tuitching the making of good and sufficient tyll<sup>2</sup> for building and sclaitting of houssis at lowe raittis, wharin it wes your Majesteis pleasour, to crave our avise and opinioun if the previlege soght of your Majestie for this purpois mycht import ony benefeit or prejudice unto the countrey. As with all dew reverence and most humble thankis we acknowledge your Majesteis faderlie cair, and the respective consideratioun whilk your Majestie has evir haid of the publict good of this your Majesties kingdome, in being so spairing to yeild to ony overturis and propositionis of the natur and qualitie foirsaid whill first your Majestie communicat the same unto your Majesteis Counsell heir, whairas it becometh us in all sinceritie and efauldnes<sup>3</sup> without ony privat respectis or considerationis, to present our simple and waik opinionis and judgement unto your sacred Majestie, so, we haveing at length conferrit, reasouned and consultit upoun the benefitteis and inconvenientis whilk by the overtour foirsaid and previlege soght of your Majestie for that purpois may result to the kingdome, we do find the overtur and propositioun, als weele anent the working of the cloith as of the tyll in the forme and tennour as is consavit in your Majesteis letters, to be necessair and verie expedient to be imbraceit and to import the publict good and benefite of the kingdome, and that a privelege for some certane yeiris may be grantit to that effect, respect being alwise haid to the term of the previlege, and that the same be for such a reasonable space as nowther your Majesteis subjectis haif just caus of greif and complaint, as being frustrat of the hoipis of thair awne laboris and travellis in leirning the saidis workis, nor yit that the undertakeris of thir workis haif mater of grudge and discontentment and so be discouragait to prosequite and follow oute the work.

*Provision for the Poor.*—As concerning the ordour

<sup>1</sup> The frequent legislation regarding the manufacture of linen during the 17th century shows that the Government was eager to do all in its power to encourage that industry. <sup>2</sup> There was now a general wish to substitute tiles for thatch in roofing houses as a better security against fire. See below, p. 351. <sup>3</sup> Uprightness.

appointit be your Lordships for suppressing of the sturdie and idell beggaris and supporting off the trewlie puir and indigent, we both allow off it and sall gladlie follow it in so far as the present estate of this puir shireffdome<sup>1</sup> will permit; which being for the most pairt off his Hienes propertie, and consisting haillilie off store rowmes<sup>2</sup> and subtenentis, who, notwithstanding that this yeiris bygane ther wairis having nother passage abroad nor geving any pryce at hame, hes bene subject to the yeirly payment off deir maillis,<sup>3</sup> few<sup>4</sup> dewties, and continwall taxationes, whairwith they be so exhausted and impoverished that they be scarselie abell to interteine themselffis, for les to help otheris; and, albeit they wold condescend to the maintenance of the trewlie indigent and impotent within thair awin shireffdome, yit the great number both off the sturdie who will not worke, and off otheris who ar willing bot can have none, will be still ane great burdeine to the land, ther being no jayellis to hold the one nor worke to imploy the other. It wer better therfor to be wishit that your Lordships wold appoint some commoun work in everie paroch, as the mending of hiewayis or suchlyk, whairby the idell may be forcit, the willing imployit, bothe interteined, and the countrie dishurdened.

<sup>1</sup> Of Selkirk. <sup>2</sup> *Rowme* or *room* is still used for a farm. *A store rowme* is a farm for the rearing of sheep and cattle. <sup>3</sup> Rents. <sup>4</sup> Feu.



## WILLIAM LITHGOW

(1628).

THE following description of Scotland is perhaps more interesting as a specimen of the English language than for any information it gives regarding the state of the country. In ridiculous pretentiousness of style, the writer, William Lithgow,<sup>1</sup> fairly surpasses Richard Franck, the Cromwellian trooper who has left us such a curious account of his travels through the northern kingdom. We have it from Lithgow himself that besides the description given here he had completed a *Surveigh of Scotland*, in which he had described the country "in all parts and of all places, besides ports and rivers." If Lithgow really wrote such a book, no trace of it has been found—a fact certainly to be regretted considering that Lithgow was the farthest-travelled man of his generation. A man who had spent nineteen years in travel, tramped "thirty-six thousand and odd miles," and seen every country in Europe besides the East and the northern quarters of Africa, must needs have had something to say of his native country which would have had a real interest at the present day.

But besides his brief description of the country, Lithgow, in a poem entitled "Scotland's Welcome to her Native Sonne and Sovereigne Lord King Charles" (1633), has given us a picture of the Scottish society of his day, which, if even an approach to the truth, would justify the most caustic gibes of travellers like Thomas Kirk and the author of the "Perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland." Lithgow was such a slave to his own grandiloquence, however, that especially when he betakes himself to rhyme, it would be absurd to interpret him to the letter. Still the following passages from Lithgow's poem contain

<sup>1</sup> All the facts of Lithgow's life have been brought together by Mr F. H. Groome in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

references to manners and customs which are not to be found elsewhere, and are more interesting in their way than his set description of the country.

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AH! what makes now, my Countrey looke so bare?  
 Thus voyd of planting, Woods and Forests fayre:  
 Hedges, and Ditches, Parks, and closed grounds,  
 Trees, Strips, and Shaws in many fertile bounds:  
 But onely that the Land-Lords, set their land,  
 From yeare, to yeare, and so from hand to hand;  
 They change and flit their Tennants as they please,  
 And will not give them Leasse, Taks, Tymes, nor ease,  
 To prosper and to thryve; for if they should,  
 As soone they thrust them, out of house and hould:  
 And hee who bids most farme, still gets the Roome,  
 Whilst one above anothers head do'th come:  
 Or els to rayse his rent, or kisse the Doore,  
 This is the cause, my Commons, live so poore,  
 And so the Peasants, can not set nor plant  
 Woods, Trees, and Orchards, which my Valleyes want,  
 But leave mee halfe deform'd, so they're distressd:  
 And by their greedy Masters still oppressd:  
 Then now to succour this, the onely way,  
 Is, that their farmes were brought, to penny pay,  
 And leasses let at large, for yeares or lyves,  
 Failling the Husbands, to their living Wyves:  
 To Heyers or Friends, and when the Tackes declyne,  
 To bee renewd againe; paying their Fyne,  
 And yearely moneyes: then the Lord or Laird,  
 Hee needes not of a doubtfull yeere regard:  
 So England, and Ireland, all Europe's brought,  
 To leasse and penny-rent, but victuall nought,  
 Then might poore Tennants thryve, set, build, and plant  
 And be reliev'd with that, which now they want,  
 And till such tyme, this land can never bee,  
 Brought from the jawes, of willfull povertie.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Major made exactly the same complaint more than a hundred years before Lithgow. See above, pp. 44, 45.

So Grammer Schooles are ruynd, Learning rare,  
Boords are so deare, and Stipends waxe so bare;  
That good house-houlders, Country-men I spy,  
Can hardly boord their Bairnes abroad, and why?  
Brougs are so fingring; Schoole-Masters so needy;  
Love at such rate, and Victuallers so greedy;  
That now most Bairnes, with sheep, and ploughs are found,  
Which makes so many Ignorants abound,  
With Rustick Caryage; Manners harsh and rude,  
And decent Comlynes, is quite seclude.

Another great abuse, is this that when,  
Men runne in Suretyship for other Men;  
Or els morgadgd in debt; yet will not pay  
Their creditors, nor thy just Lawes obey:  
But scorning, horning, Caption Rebells turne;  
And in despyght of Pow'r, all where sojourne,  
Arm'd with Rebellion, Pistols, Sword and Dagger,  
Threatening to kill, they roare it out, and swagger.

And now Tobacco, that base stinking weed,  
That Indian witchcraft, smoaking in their head;  
Turnes Virile Acts, and delicat discourse  
To pot, and Pypes, reciprocally recourse:  
Nay; they're so bent, though when its spent to flashes,  
They'll smoake it out, even Asses, sucking Ashes,  
It was a damn'd devyce, a fatall curse,  
To honesty, and health, and to the Purse,  
It spoyles their Memory, and blinds their sight,  
Dryes up the moisture of the Carnall Wight.  
Some take it for the fashion, some for Rheume,  
Some for the Tooth-ach, othirs for the fleume:  
Some for the Head-ake, some for Melancholy;  
Some for to sharp their wits, and banish folly:  
Some for their Pallet, in their warbling throt,  
Some for good fellowship, to Pype and Pot.  
Then here's the slavrye of this slabby sin,  
Another Pype, another Pot, brings in.  
Some Ladyes too, have head-akes in their Toes  
And for remeed, takes Physick at their Nose:

Some suck it stinkingly, and with distast,  
And yet forsooth, they take it to live chaste,  
Mixt with Perfums, and Oyles, sweet seeds, and snuff,  
They swallow downe in gluts this Pagane stuff.

And I could wish, that Edinburgh would mend !  
This shameles custome, which none can commend :  
Should Woemen walke lyke Sprits? should Woemen weare,  
Their Winding-sheets alyve, wrapt up I sweare  
From head to foote in Plads: lyke Zembrian Ghostes,  
Which haunt in Groaves, and Shades,—lyke Fayry Hostes,  
Looke to your Streets, at night see how they flock ?  
Lyke buriall-busked Bedlers; and provoke,  
Good goers by to gaze, yea, often stand,  
Till they invest them, with a shouldring hand :  
Where is their punishment? where is good order ?  
Where civill comelynes? O to what border ?  
Is honesty now fled: When thus I see,  
That richest Wyves, with Harlots masked bee,  
For in a word there's none, twixt both can judge,  
In show, the Matrone, from the Common Drudge :  
Then as the Hangman, had late pow're to mend it,  
The gallows or the Borrough-Loch must end it.

But now belyke the Colles, this happy yeare,  
By burning Witches, are growne wondrous deare,  
And so they are, but sure the Flemings make it,  
Although the Commons, commonly mistake it:  
But if my Colles to impostes, ones were put,  
They soone would stay, the Hollanders were shut :  
Yet Colles and Witches have a nearer union,  
First here by use, then hence by dark communion :  
Some Colles are fund, in Earths profoundest Cell,  
Which Colliers hould adjacent neare to Hell :  
And will not let, blynd Limbus ly betwene,  
For Colliers have in darknes, Lynx-bred eyne.  
Thus Hell, and Witches, Devills, and Warloks bee,  
Linkd in with Colles, in hot affinitie ;  
Which God may grant ! long may their union stand  
Till Witchcraft quyte, be rooted from this Land.

My Hostes, and Hostesses, in every house,  
 Can make their Guests so welcome they'll carrouse :  
 With merrymment and laughter; tell a Tale  
 Of Robin Hood, and Wallace; make their Ale,  
 Flee out of Pynts in Quarts; but being come  
 To what's to pay? the hostesse beats the Drumme!  
 Up, up, Good-man; away; there's one in haist!  
 Must speeke with you, Come! fy, he's almost past,  
 The Hoste thus gone, the honest Guest must stay,  
 And for Thome Tratler, all the reckoning pay.

So now, my Coyning-house, doth idle stand,  
 And there no Pictures, stampd with Irne nor hand:  
 There are no moneyes going, nor golden collours,  
 Save Dutch and Holland, Saxone, Austrian dollours:  
 Now all are Dollors; Dollors ought can doe;  
 But worst, ther's no small money can bee had,  
 Nor change for gold or silver; Men are made  
 Often for lack of change, to leave, or losse  
 Whole, half, or part, of their twyse Dollourd drosse:  
 Men can not buy nor sell: Men can not barter;  
 And Hostlaries smart too in ev'ry quarter.

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#### DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND.<sup>1</sup>

Traversing the western isles, whose inhabitants, like to as many bulwarks, are abler and apter to preserve and defend their liberty and precincts from incursive invasions, than any need of forts or fortified places they have, or can be required there (such is the desperate courage of these awful Hebridians), I arrived, I say, at the isle of Arran, *anno* 1628, where for certain days, in the castle of Braidwick,<sup>2</sup> I was kindly entertained by the illustrious Lord James, Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Cambridge,<sup>3</sup> &c.

<sup>1</sup> In this passage both punctuation and spelling have been modernised, as in itself Lithgow's meaning presents sufficient difficulty. His spelling of geographical names has been preserved in accordance with the principle adopted throughout. <sup>2</sup> Brodick. <sup>3</sup> The second Marquis of Hamilton (1589-1625). On hearing of his death, the King (James VI.) said—"If the branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long."



This isle of Arran is thirty miles long, eight in breadth, and distant from the main twenty-four miles, being surclouded with Goatfield-hill,<sup>1</sup> which, with wide eyes, overlooketh the western continent, and the northern country of Ireland: bringing also to sight, in a clear summer day, the Isle of Man, and the higher coast of Cumberland. A larger prospect no mountain in the world can show, pointing out three kingdoms at one sight; neither is there any isle like to it for brave gentry, good archers, and hill hovering hunters. Having again come to the main land, I coasted Galloway; even to the Mull that butteth into the sea, with a large promontory, being the southmost part of the kingdom; and thence footing all that large country to Dumfries, and so to Carlile; I found here in Galloway, in divers roadway inns, as good cheer, hospitality, and serviceable attendance, as though I had been ingrafted in Lombardy or Naples.

The wool of which country, is nothing inferior to that of Biscay in Spain; providing they had skill to fine, spin, weave, and labour it as they should: nay, the Calabrian silk had never a better lustre, and softer grip, than I have seen and touched this growing wool there on sheep's backs; the mutton whereof excelleth in sweetness. So this country aboundeth in cattle, especially in little horses, which, for mettle and riding, may rather be termed bastard barbs, than Galloway nags.

Likewise their nobility and gentry are as courteous, and every way generously disposed, as either discretion would wish, or honour command, that (Cunninghame being excepted, which may be called the academy of religion, for a sanctified clergy, and a godly people)<sup>2</sup> certainly Galloway is become more civil of late, than any maritime country bordering with the western sea. But now to observe my former summary condition; the length of the kingdom lieth south and north, that is between Dungsby-head in Cathnes, and the aforesaid Mould of Galloway; being distant *per rectam lineam*, which my weary feet trode over from point to point

<sup>1</sup> Goatfell. <sup>2</sup> Like Kyle, this district of Ayrshire is associated with the development of Lollardism, with the beginnings of the Reformation, as well as with the Covenant.

(the way of Lochreall, Carrick, Kyle, Aire, Glasgow, Striveling, St Johnstone, Stormount, the Blair of Atholl, the Brae of Mar, Badenoch, Inverness, Rossie, Sutherland, and so to the north promontory of Catlines) extending to three hundred and twenty miles; which I reckon to be four hundred and fifty English miles: confounding hereby the ignorant presumption of blind cosmographers, who in their maps make England longer than Scotland, when contrariwise, Scotland outstrippeth the other in length a hundred and twenty miles. The breadth whereof, I grant, is narrower than England; yet extending between the extremities of both coasts in divers parts to sixty, eighty, and a hundred of our miles: but because of the sea ingulging the land, and cutting it in so many angles, making great lakes, bays, and dangerous friths, on both sides of the kingdom, the true breadth thereof cannot be justly conjectured, nor soundly set down.

Our chief fresh water lakes are these, Loch-Lomond, containing twenty-four isles, and in length as many miles, divers whereof are enriched with woods, deer, and other cattle; the large and long lake of Loch-Tay, in Atholl, the mother and god-mother of head-strong Tay, the greatest river in the kingdom; and Lochnes, in the higher parts of Murray, the river whereof, (that graceth the pleasant and commodious situation of Inverness) no frost can freeze; the propriety of which water will quickly melt and dissolve any hard congealed lumps of frozen ice, be it on man or beast, stone or timber.

The chief rivers are Clyde, Tay, Tweed, Forth, Dee, Spay, Nith, Nesse, and Dingwells flood-ingorging lake, that confirmeth *porta salutis*; <sup>1</sup> being all of them, where they return their tributes to their father Ocean, portable, <sup>2</sup> and, as it were, resting places for turmoiled seas and ships: and the principal towns are Edenbrugh, Perth, Glasgow, Dundie, Abirdene, St Andrewes, Aire, Striveling, Lithgow, Dumfreis, Inverness, Elgin, Monros, Jedburgh, Haddington, Leith, &c.; and for antiquity, old Lanerk, &c.

So the most delicious soils of the kingdom, are these following. First, the bounds of Clyde, or Cliddesdale, between Lanerk and Dumberton, distanced twenty-six miles; and

<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, Cromarty Firth was so-called. <sup>2</sup> Navigable.

thence downward to Rossay,<sup>1</sup> that kisseth the divulgements of the river; the beginning whereof is at Arick-stone,<sup>2</sup> sixteen miles above Lanerk, whose course contendeth for three-score miles: all which, being the best mixed country for corns, meads, pasturage, woods, parks, orchards, castles, palaces, divers kinds of coal, and earth fuel, that our included Albion produceth; and may justly be surnamed the paradise of Scotland. Besides, it is adorned, on both borders along, with the greatest peers and nobility in the kingdom; the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hammilton, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earls of Glencarne, Wigton, and Abircorne.

And for Lord Barons, Sempill, Rosse, Blantyre, and Daliel; the chief gentry whereof, are the Knights and Lairds of Luce, Skellmurely, Blackhall, Greenock, New-wark, Houston, Pokmaxwell, Sir George Elphingston of Blythswood, Minto, Cambusnethen, Calderwood, the two Knights of Lee, and Castelhill, Sir James Lokharts elder and younger, Lamington, Westraw, his Majesty's Gentleman Sewer, Blakwood, Cobinton, Stanebyres, and Corehous, &c. All which in each degree, as they illuminate the soil with grandeur, so the soil reflecteth on them again with beauty, bounty, and riches.

And now the second soil for pleasure is the platformed carse of Gowry, twelve miles long (wheat, rye, corns, fruit-yards, being its only commodity), which I may term, for its levelled face, to be the garden of Angus, yea, the diamond-plot of Tay, or rather the youngest sister of matchless Piedmont; the inhabitants being only defective in affableness, and communicating courtesies of natural things, whence sprung this proverb, *The carles of the Carse*.

The third, and beautiful soil, is the delectable planure of Murray, thirty miles long, and six in breadth; whose comely grounds, enriched with corns, plantings, pasturage, stately dwellings, over-faced with a generous Octavian gentry, and topped with a noble earl, its chief patron, it may be called a second Lombardy, or pleasant meadow of the north.

Neither may I (abandoning eye-pleasing grounds) seclude here that sudaick bottom, reaching thirty miles betwixt Perth

<sup>1</sup> Rothessay. <sup>2</sup> Erickstane.

and Montrose, involving the half of Angus, within a fruitful, populous, and nobilitat planure; the heart whereof saluting Glames, kisseth Cowper: so likewise, as thrice-divided Lothiane is a giral of grain for foreign nations; and Fiffe, betwixt Carrail and Largo, the Ceren trenches of a royal camp, the incircling coast, a nest of corporations; and meandering Forth, from tiptoed Snadoun,<sup>1</sup> the conspicuous mirror for matchless majesty: even so is melting Tweed, and weeping Tiviot, the Egyptian strands that irriguate the fertile fields, which imbolster both bosoms, sending their bordering breath of daily necessities to strengthen the life of Barwick.

Now as for the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, certainly, as they are generous, manly, and full of courage; so are they courteous, discreet, learned scholars well read in best histories, delicate linguists, the most part of them being brought up in France<sup>2</sup> or Italy; that for a general complete worthiness, I never found their matches amongst the best people of foreign nations; being also good house-keepers, affable to strangers, and full of hospitality.

And in a word, the seas of Scotland and the isles abound plentifully in all kinds of fishes, the rivers are ingorged with salmon, the Highland mountains overlad with fir trees, infinite deer, and all sorts of other bestial; the valleys full of pasture and wild fowl, the low-laid plains enriched with beds of grain, justice all where administered, laws obeyed, malefactors punished, oppressors curbed, the clergy religious, the people sincere professors, and the country peaceable to all men.

The chief commodities whereof, transported beyond sea, are these: wheat, corns, hides, skins, tallow, yarn, linen, salt, coal, herrings, salmon, wool, keilling, ling, turbot, and seaths.<sup>3</sup> And last, and worst, all the gold of the kingdom is daily transported away with superfluous posting for court, whence they never return any thing, save spend all, end all; then farewell fortune. So that numbers of our nobility and gentry now become, with idle projects, down-drawers of destruction upon their own necks, their children, and their estates; and posting postilions, by dissolute courses, to enrich

<sup>1</sup> Snowdown, to which reference has been so often made. See above, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 345. <sup>3</sup> Coalfish.

strangers, leave themselves deservedly desolate of lands, means and honesty for ever: doing even with their former virtue, long continuance, and memory of their noble ancestors, as Mr Knox did with our glorious churches of abbacies and monasteries (which were the greatest beauty of the kingdom), knocking all down to desolation; leaving nought to be seen of admirable edifices, but like to the ruins of Troy, Tyre, and Thebes, lumps of walls, and heaps of stones.<sup>1</sup>

So do our ignoble gallants, though nobly born, swallow up the honour of their famous predecessors, with posting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, lust, and vain apparel; making a transmigration of perpetuity to their present belly and back, O lascivious ends! which I have justly sifted, in my last work entitled, *Scotland's welcome to King Charles*; with all the abuses and grievances of the whole kingdom besides.

But now leaving prodigals to their purgatorial postings, I come to trace through Rosse, Sutherland, and Cathnes, soils so abundant in all things fit to illustrate greatness, embellish gentry, and succour commons, that their fertile goodness far exceeded my expectation, and the affability of the better sort my deservings; being all of them the best, and most bountiful Christmas-keepers (the Greeks excepted) that ever I saw in the Christian world; whose continual incorporate feasting one with another, beginning at St Andrew's day, never end till Shrovetide; which ravished me to behold such great and daily cheer, familiar fellowship, and jovial cheerfulness, that methought the whole winter there seemed to me, but the Jubilee of one day.

Forsaking Cathnes, I embraced the trembling surges (at Dungsby) of struggling Neptune, which ingorgeth Pentland, or Pictland frith, with nine<sup>2</sup> contrarious tides; each tide overthwarting another with repugnant courses, have such violent streams, and combustious waves, that if these danger-

<sup>1</sup> Like Franck, Lithgow was no partisan, though his sympathies seem to have been with the Calvinistic party in Scotland. As we are now aware, he exaggerates the achievements of Knox in demolishing the ancient churches. <sup>2</sup> Thomas Kirk, who crossed the Pentland Firth in 1677, was told that there were twenty different tides (*Tours in Scotland in 1677 and 1681* by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby, p. 32).



ous firths be not rightly taken in passing over, the passengers shall quickly lose sight of life and land for ever; yea, and one of these tides is so forcible, at the back of Stromaii,<sup>1</sup> that it will carry any vessel backward, in despite of the winds, the length of its rapid current.

This dreadful frith is in breadth, between the continent of Cathnes and the isle of south Rannaldshaw in Orkney, twelve miles: and I denote this credibly, in a part of the north-west end of this gulf, there is a certain place of sea where these distracted tides make their rencountering rendezvous, that whirlleth ever about, cutting in the middle circle a sloping hole, with which, if either ship or boat shall happen to encroach, they must quickly either throw over something into it, as a barrel, a piece of timber, and such like, or that fatal Euripus<sup>2</sup> shall then suddenly become their swallowing sepulchre: A custom which these bordering Cathenians and Orcadians have ever heretofore observed.

Arrived at South Rannaldshaw, an isle of five miles long, and crossing the isle of Burray, I sighted Kirkwall, the metropolis of Pomonia, the main-land of Orkney, and the only mistress of all the circumjacent isles, being thirty in number; the chief whereof besides this tract of ground, in length twenty-six, and broad five, six, and seven miles, are, the isles of Sanda, Westra and Stronza. Kirkwall itself is adorned with the stately and magnificent church of St Magnus,<sup>3</sup> built by the Danes, whose signiory with the isles lately it was; but indeed for the time present more beautified with the godly life of a most venerable and religious bishop Mr George Graham,<sup>4</sup> whom now I may term (sovereignty excepted) to be the father of the country's government, than ecclesiastic prelate: the inhabitants being left void of a governor, or solid patron, are just become like to a broken

<sup>1</sup> Stroma. <sup>2</sup> This name was specially applied to the narrow strait between Eubœa and Bœotia, in which, according to the ancients, the sea ebbed and flowed seven times a day. <sup>3</sup> It was founded in 1137 by Rôgnwald, nephew of St Magnus, a Scandinavian Earl of Orkney, to whom it was dedicated.

<sup>4</sup> Originally minister of Scone, and afterwards bishop of Dunblane, from which See he was translated to that of Orkney in 1615. Being threatened by the Assembly of Glasgow, he demitted his office in 1638, and acknowledged the sin of Episcopacy (Keith, *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*).

battle, a scattered people without a head; having but a burgess-sheriff to administer justice, and he too an alien to them, and a resider in Edinburgh: so that in most differences, and questions of importance, the plaintiffs are enforced to implore the bishop for their judge, and he the adverse party for redress.

But the more remote parts of this ancient little kingdom, as Zetland, and the adjacent isles there, have found such a sting of deocular government within these few years, that these once happy isles, which long ago my feet treaded over, are metamorphosed in the anatomy of succourless oppression, and the felicity of the inhabitants reinvolved within the closet of a Cittadinean cluster.

## GILBERT BLAKHAL

(1643).

THE following curious narrative is taken from the volume entitled "A Brieffe Narration of the Services done to three Noble Ladyes by Gilbert Blakhal, Preist of the Scots Mission in France, in the Low Countries, and in Scotland," and edited by Dr John Stuart for the Spalding Club in 1844. Of Blakhall little is known except what we gather from his own "Narration." Having been ordained a priest at Rome in 1630, he proceeded to Paris to act as confessor to Lady Isabelle Hay, daughter of Francis, Earl of Errol. The story of his services to this lady in procuring her settlement as a Canoness at Mons occupies the first chapter of his book. Returning to Scotland in 1637 he became a missionary to the Catholics in the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, acting at the same time as chaplain to Lady Aboyne, his services to whom are recorded in his second chapter. On her death Blakhal went to France with the object of inducing the Marchioness of Huntly to withdraw her grand-daughter, the only child of Lady Aboyne, from Scotland to that country. It is from his third and longest chapter in which he relates the success of this enterprise that the following extract is taken.

No one can read Blakhal's book without being surprised that it has not taken its place as one of the most popular narratives in the language. His adventures are in themselves so curious, his manner of telling them at once so vivid and so simple, that the book reads precisely like one of those romances now so much in vogue in which the ingenious story-teller bases his inventions on some long-lost MS. which has come into his hands in some more or less surprising manner. The very headings of Blakhal's chapters suggest Mr Louis Stevenson or Mr Rider Haggard—"A Stratagem invented by Mr Pendreich and Mr Forbes to justifie Mr

Forbes," "Of my Voyage to Brusselle, and what I did ther for her with the Infanta," "Of my speaking to the Infanta," "Showing the Ingratitude of a Clown, and the rest of my Voyage to Paris, and Provin, and Dieppe, and Brusselle," "What did Befal to me at the Moore of Reyny, going to visit Mademoiselle Gordon." Blakhal, moreover, makes an admirable hero in his own book,—loving adventure for its own sake, rising to all emergencies, beating every one he meets (highwaymen included)<sup>1</sup> at their own weapons. The passage here given, it should be said, is by no means the liveliest in his narrative, and has been selected simply because it falls within the scope of the present volume.

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MY VOYAGE<sup>2</sup> FROM HOLY YLANDE TO STRATHBOGGIE IN  
THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND.

WE staid at Holy Yland from Sunday at night until Tuysday at foure afternoone. About nynne houres in the forenoone upon Tuysday, the tempest having ceased, we went a walking in the yland, and did go to the gouverneur, called Robin Rugg, a notable good fellow, as his great read nose full of pimples did give testimony. He made us brackfast with him, and gave us very good seck, and did show us the toure in which he lived, which is no strenth at al, bot lyk the watch toures upon the coastes of Italie. We did tack him with us to oure inne, and made him the best chere that we could. He was a very civil and jovial gentleman, and good company ; and, among the rest of merry discourses, he tould us how the common people ther do pray for shippes which they sie in danger. They al sit downe upon their knees, and hold up their handes, and say very devoutely, Lord send her to us, God send her to us. You, said he, seing them upon their knees, and their hands joyned, do think that they are praying for your sauvetie ; but their myndes

<sup>1</sup> See the chapter or "paragraph," as he calls it, entitled "Containing Her Majesties Gratiouse Answer," which reads exactly like a chapter from one of Mr Stevenson's romances. <sup>2</sup> Journey.

are far from that. They pray, not God to sauve you, or send you to the port, but to send you to them by shipwrack, that they may gette the spoile of her. And, to show that this is their meaning, said he, if the shippe come wel to the porte, or eschew naufrage,<sup>1</sup> they gette up in anger, crying, the Devil stick her, she is away from us. He stayed with us, telling us such merry tales, until we did tak horses for to ryd to Berwick, but the mater of six miles from the yland.

I stayed at Berwick thre dayes, cheifly to eschew the going to Edenbrough with Captain Cambel, because I had two necessary visites to mak by the way, the one to Morningtoun,<sup>2</sup> and the other to Barnes, to sie the ladies of theis places, who were the tantes<sup>3</sup> of the yong ladye for whose sake I made the voyage. I would not lette Captain Cambel know that I intended to go ther, and therfor did feane myself wors then I was until he should be away, who stayed one day, and offerred civilly to stay until I should be wel to go together; but I would not suffer him to be at nedeles charges for my sake. So we sindered and went straight, he to Edenbrough, and I to Morningtoun, the day after he was parted from Berwick. I stayed at Morningtoun one night, to consult with that lord how I should proceid with the Marquis of Huntley concerning the patrimony of the yong ladye<sup>4</sup> which the Marquis was obliged to pay her. Morningtoun was a very wyse nobleman, and I followed his counsel punctually, which was to hinder her from dischargeing the Housse of Huntley of her tocher, if his lordship should aske it (which indead he did not), and to willingly give aquittance for so much as he would bestow upon her to mak her voyage to France, and also for her nouriteur<sup>5</sup> since the death of her mother, if he did requyr it, which he did, as shal be shoven in its owen place. My Ladye Morningtoun was sister to the mother of the yong ladye, and that made me ask counsel at her uncle, who knew wel the practise of our contrie, and for her sake would give his best advysse very freely. I did go from Morningtoun to Barnes, to sie my Lady Barns, another

<sup>1</sup> Shipwreck. Blakhal seems to have lived so long abroad that he used French words unconsciously. <sup>2</sup> Mornington, a few miles to the north-west of Berwick. <sup>3</sup> Aunts. <sup>4</sup> The daughter of Lady Aboyne. <sup>5</sup> Upbringing.



sister of the child's mother, and was their one night very well entertained, and from thence to Edenbrough.

When I arrived to Edenbrough, I lodged in the Cowgate, in the house of Jhon Crawford, an honest old gentleman, and a zealous Catholick, who suffered much persecution for his faith. This Crawford had a daughter serving my Ladye Marquis of Douglas. By her moyen,<sup>1</sup> I learned if my lady would admit me to her presence, and when; that is to say, what day, and at what hour. My lady sent me word to come to their lodging in the Canongat, about nyne hours at night, and sent this gentlewoman to conduct me there, and convey me to a secret chamber, where my lord, her husband, and she did come, and made me very welcome. The next day I told my lady that I was in pain how to get access to speak with her niece, Ladye Henriette Gordon, for this lady was sister to the young lady's father, and she did know my designe, for I had written to her ladyship from Paris, and communicated to her all my affaire. She, answering, said, you know, I doubt not, that my niece, Haddington, is become a precise Puritan, and is much opposite to the designe that you have taken to put my niece, Henriette, to the Queene of France, not for any other cause but only for religion. For she avoucheth that it would be both honourable and profitable for her to serve that Queene, but much prejudicial to her salvation, which should be preferred to all other things. And therefore since she hath heard from her brother, my Lord Gordon, that you were coming out of France for her, she keepeth her as a prisoner, and will not suffer her to see nor speak with any Catholick. Her mother's sister, my Ladye of Barns, send for her to come to her house, and my Ladye of Haddington refused her plainly. I send for her and was refused likewise; whereupon, in great anger, I sent a gentleman to tell my niece of Haddington, that I would not be affronted by her refusing to let my niece come at me, when I call for her; and that if she do not send her to me this same day, I will go the morrow and take her out of her house, and never let her go within her gate again, and make her know that I have more authority over my own proper niece, to keep her with me, than she who is but her cousin

<sup>1</sup> Means.

germain. How soon she heard this, she sent her to my house incognito, and now I shall send for her to come to me. I hope she wil lette her come, or if she do not, I shal go for her myself, and bring her away for good and al; for your paines shal not be loosed for want of occasion to speak with her. Without her consent you can do nothing, for we cannot constrain her to go to France against her wil.

My Ladye Marquise did send for her, and she did come, and my ladye brought her to the chamber wher I was. And how soon I did sie her so much cheanged from that child which she was during the lyffe of her deare mother, I could not conteane my teares, and she seing me weepe for her, did weepe, letting her head fall downe on my breast, and in that posteur we did shedde many salt teares together; and my Ladye Marquis, touched with compassion of us, went out of the chamber, saying, God comfort you both, for I cannot. So when we had by many teares eased a little the grieffe of our harts, I did ask her how she was used with her cousine germaine, and she tould me her bad usage, and that she had dreamed in her sleepe that she did sie a man coming to deliver her from the sadde condition wherin she was, but did not know who he was, nor did not think he had bein me, but some other person she never had sein. I pray God, my child, said I, be your deliverer, as I hope he wil; as to me, I shall be overjoyed to sie you brought out of this thraldome by whosoever, but I belive you may long suffer before any other than I come to succour you. Many, I dout not, do pitie you, but few wil put their hand to help you unlesse it be myself. Wherby you may sie that I, upon whom you did least think, and perhaps not at al, have thought most upon you; and I may with truth say, that since the decease of your blessed mother, you have bein the ordinary object of my thoughts, meditating both night and day how to bring you out of the pitiful casse wherin you are. And at last, I have found a good and honourable way, if you wil embrace it. And then I tould her very briefly what I had done for her; and asked if she would accept the offer which the King and Quene of France had made her, and to move her the more therunto, did show her their Majesties letteres inviting her to come to them. She answered discreetly, that she

could not do any thing of that importance without the advyse of her tutour, the Marquis of Huntley. I said, lette me be doing with that; I shall do my best to procure it. So we sindered.

The earnest desir which I had to sie her ons out of Scotland, suffered me not to reste long in any place; and, therfor, how soone I had spooken with her, and found her inclined to go to France, provyding that she got the consentment of her tutour, I did tak my journey towards the North upon Saturday, the euve of Easter. Twelfe houres chopped<sup>1</sup> as I did enter in Leith, and our Puritans were at that time more as halfe Jewes; for they had forbidden al servile work to be done from Saterdag at noone, until the next Monday, under great penalties; so that a boate durst not go upon ferries to pass any man over, what pressant affair soever he could have; and, therefore, I could not passe at Leith, or returne back again to Edenbrough, specially upon their day of general communion, because theis dayes they send searchers to al the innes to sie who are their absent from their churches; and, if any be found, the hostes are finned for logging them or suffering them to be absent. So I did choose rather to be in the fields then in any town; and, therfor did ridde up the water to Queenes ferry, wher I found that same prohibition in vigour. I offered a shilling for a boate, which cost but two pens ordinarily, but, if I would have given tenne pounds, the pouer fellows durst not sette a boate to sea; wherfor I resolved to ridde to the Bridge of Sterling, four and twenty miles out of my way, rather then stay in any of theis puritanical litle townes, which are much more zealous then the greatest. I loged that night at Borrowstownnesse, as I believe it is called. Myn host at supper asked me if I would communicat with him the morrow tymously. I answered, that I was pressed to go home to Fyffe, but would be tymly aneugh at Sterling, wher my affaires pressed me to go to passe the water at the bridge, seing I could not haue a boate until Monday, and that I would do my devotion at Sterling. He did acquiesce; and I loath to discours, fearing to be attraped therin, as ordinarily men are who feanie themselves to be of a contrie wherof they

<sup>1</sup> Struck.

are not, therfor, immediatly after supper, I went to sie my hors suppe, and then called for my bedde, as if I had bein wearyed, and, paying myn hostesse at night, was mounted upon my hors by the brack of the day, and passing by the Fakirk,<sup>1</sup> a place wher Walas<sup>2</sup> resorted oft, I did sie the contrie people whigging<sup>3</sup> their meres,<sup>4</sup> to be tymously at the kirk, as if they had bein running for a pryse. They passed me, bidding me spurre my hors to communicat with them, to whom I gave no answer, but did ridde softly to the end of the Torrewode, wher I did find an aile house al alone.

Ther I asked how far it is to Sterling; the hoste said but two miles. I had never bein in theis partes before, and did not know what for a towne Sterling was, but had heared much of the towne, the castel, and the bridge. I was loathe to enter in Sterling until the people should be gone to the churches for the preaching afternoone, and therfore I stayed and dyned at the aile house, and when my watch showed a little over midday, I did tak my hors and ridde softly. When I had passed the Torrewood, which now hath nothing but some scattered oackes, dying for antiquity, which conserve the name and memory of that sometymes so famous a wood, specially in the history of Wallace, I, being come nere the towne, looked to the situation of itselfe and of the castel, and perceiving that it was a vive<sup>5</sup> representation of the towne which my Ladye of Aboyne had shown me in my dreame, wherof I spokke above in the seventhe paragraphe, and had forbidden me to go throught, althought it would be my way, because I would be in as great hazard of my life ther as I had bein in the sea, and that she would not be able to deliver me out of it as she had done out of the tempeste. I said to myselfe, this is seurlly the towne that was shewn me in my slepe, and which I was forbidden to passe through. What shal I do, or how shal I pass by it? for I sie no way to go by this unhappy towne. I was truly in a very great amaisment, thinking with my owne selfe what cours I should take, saying, if I shal turne back again I shal be remarked and pershewed in theis troublesome tymes, where every unknown man is suspected to be an enemy to the one partye or the other, that is, to the Covenanters or to the anty-Cove-

<sup>1</sup> Falkirk. <sup>2</sup> Sir William Wallace. <sup>3</sup> Driving briskly. <sup>4</sup> Mares. <sup>5</sup> Lively.

nanters. If I go forward, I must passe through the towne, for I sie a long stone wal at every syd of the town gate. I was no lesse troubled at the very sight of that puritanical towne then I had bein at the sight of the rageing tempest, because my good ladye had tould me that my life would be in as great danger heir as it had bein in their, and that she could not helpe me heir as she had done ther. Yet, seing no other cours to be taken but to go forward, I staped on slowly, as one going to a place where he must necessarily perish, if he be not miraculously delivered above al expectation.

In this sadde condition, I looked up and did sie, the mater of three hundred paces from me, two gentlewomen going to the towne by another way, which joyned with myn about a hundred paces before we came to the gate. I spurred my hors to overtake them at the joining of the two wayes, which I did, and, saluting them very humbly, prayed them to show me how I could go to the bridge ungoing through the towne. The one of them asked me, why I would not go through the towne? as if she had thought I durst not go through it. I answered, saying, deare ladye, I am not affrayed to go through it, for I have no enemy nather within it nor without it, but, on the contrair, many good frinds, who may be hurtful to me at this tym, as I shal show you how. I have a processe of great consequence to be judged the morrow, which, if I loosse, it shal mak me, my wyffe, and children, so many beggars, for my whole standing doth depend upon it. Now, if I go through the towne, I must go to the preaching, wher I shal be sein by many of my best companions, who shal draw me perforce to the wyne, and so I shal not get home this night with my recommendations to my judges, which hath coast me this journey to Edenbrough, and the morrow before nynne houres my caus shal be judged. My recommendations are from great personnes, and may do me much good if I can but deliver them to my judge in due tym, and, if not, I may suffer great harne, through my owne fault for not coming with them in tyme. And, notwithstanding I have used al the diligence that I can, for my nerest way was to passe over the water at Leith, but twelf houres being chopped yesterday before I entred Leith, no boat durst go



upon the sea until Munday, and that obliged me to come this way to the bridge. But, if I be forced to stay al night heir, I shal be forder from my owne house then if I had remained at Lieth; and if I gette no hinderance heir, I shal be at my own house befor I slepe. Heir I have shown you, dear ladyes, the caus why I would eschew the towne, and mak al the hast that possibly I can to gette home this night, and I pray you assist me therin if you can, and I shal remain ever your obliged servant.

They seamed to have compassion on me, and said, we are sorry that you have come so nere the towne, for now you can nathar go back again nor turne to any hand unremarked, and followed as an enemy to the state, and therupon kept in prison until your cause of going by the towne be tried. But we belive your frinds wil gette you soon brought out of prisonne, but it would ever hender your voyage. Therfor your best cours wil be to enter in the towne, and you shal not go sex times the lenth of your horse in it, for we shal tak you out by a back gate. Speak not to us befor any body, but follow us wher we go. The towne gatte was shutte, and the wicket only open. I lighted from my hors, and bouldly followed them in, and they entered in at the first great gatte upon our right hand, but about twenty paces from the gatte of the towne. They left the dore open behind them, for me to follow, and when I was in they did boulte it, for befor it was shut only with a sneck that lifted up, or, as the French call it, unloquet. The logging perteaned seurlly to some personne of quality, for it was very faire, a great courte builded on three quarters, and a baluster of iron on the side towards the garden, which had a faire and large parterre. By good fortune, there was no body in al the logging; whither no body was then dwelling in it, or that al the people were gone to the preaching, I cannot tel, for I was so glad to winne away that I did not enquiry. They did take me through an alle<sup>1</sup> of the garden to a stare which descended by the side of the towne walle: The stare was al of stone, and but little more as one foote broade, and very steep downe. The walle was on the lefte hand of it, and nothing on the other side to sauve people from falling from it to the right hand. My hors

<sup>1</sup> Alley.

made great difficulty to enter it, but one of the gentlewomen did tak the end of the bridle, and going befor him did draw him to her, and I did go behind and pousse him downe until he got his hindermost feet one marche downe, and then he did runne downe al the reste, and the gentlewoman before him, and did hold him until the other and I came to her. They were two very handsome gentlewomen, and very civil, and, as I could judge, sisteres; for in visage and voice and clothing they were so lyk one another, that they could not be easily distinguished, unles both present together. When we were al downe, they did show me the way to the bridge, distinguishing it from the way which did go to Alloway,<sup>1</sup> a little towne upon the same water of Forth; and they bidding God give me good successe of my processe, and I giveing them many humble thanks for the great favour which they had done me, we separated. They went up the stare againe, and I to the bridge, but softly, until I had passed the bridge, and was up the bray on the other side of the water.

I thanked God with al my heart and soule, who had so mercifully provided theis two gentlewomen to deliver me out of the danger that threatened me. For if I had gone through the towne (as I would have bein constrained to do if I had not rencountered happily theis gentlewomen), I would have been sent with a gard to the castel, to bein examined. For the Scots army was then at Newcastle, and no stranger or unknown man was suffered to passe through any towne that had a gouverneur until he were first presented to him; wher if I had been carried, my fortune had bein soone made.

<sup>1</sup> Alloa.

## A DESCRIPTION OF EDINBURGH

(1647–1652).

DAVID BUCHANAN.

WE have already had a description of Edinburgh before the middle of the 16th century ; in that which follows we have a picture of the city towards the middle of the 17th. The author of the description was David Buchanan, familiar to students of Scottish literature, though little is known of his personal history. Born about 1595, he resided some years in France, but subsequently settled in Scotland, where he seems to have been chiefly engaged in literary pursuits till his death in 1653. As the editor of Knox's *History of the Reformation*, he assured himself an equivocal reputation by his unconscionable handling of the original text. His description of Edinburgh was written (in Latin) to accompany a plan of the city prepared by the Rev. James Gordon of Rothiemay, but remained in manuscript till it was published in the second volume of the *Bannatyne Club Miscellany* (1836), though part of it had been translated for Chambers's *Reekiana*. According to Chambers it must have been written between 1642 and 1651 ; according to the Bannatyne Club editor, between 1647 and 1652. As the first part of Buchanan's paper is devoted to some foolish speculations regarding the etymology of the name *Edinburgh*, which he traces to a Hebrew root, only his description proper has been here translated.

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ON the south, west, and north the rock on which the castle (of Edinburgh) stands is so abrupt that on these sides it is altogether inaccessible : on the east, where is the entrance of the castle, the rock has a gentler slope. This

(last) side is fortified with curved breastworks and very thick walls. On the above-mentioned slope the city has been built, and not in one day certainly, for the first dwellers in the neighbourhood constructed their scanty houses near the castle, that under its shadow they might have greater security from their enemies. Accordingly, by degrees, as the population grew, the number of houses extended from the castle to the very foot of the slope, which begins about 3000 paces off. If we include the suburbs of the canons, either side of the slope from summit to base is lined with lofty buildings, a long line of them stretching in a spacious street along the middle of the ridge from one extremity to the other. The buildings are separated from each other by streets and closes, almost all of which are narrow. The houses on the opposite sides of the street, therefore, are so close that there is hardly space for fresh air; and for this reason they are mutually harmful. I am not sure that you will find anywhere so many dwellings and such a multitude of people in so small space as in this city of ours.<sup>1</sup> There were two main causes in former times which occasioned the growth of the city to its present extent. In the first place, our kings from the earliest times dwelt longer here than elsewhere;<sup>2</sup> in the second, during the last century, James V., following the example of France, established here the supreme civil court,<sup>3</sup> which before that time had been held in different parts of the country. Formerly (and, indeed, there still is) a pool to the north of the slope on which the city stands, known as the Nor' Loch. On the southern side of the slope there was likewise a pool which was known as the South Loch. These two lochs bounded the city on the two sides just as the Nor' Loch bounds it on the north. Last century, however, the South Loch dried up, and where its banks were, are rows of houses from east to west, between which runs on the very site of the loch the street known as the Cowgate

<sup>1</sup> "The houses of Edinburgh," says De Rohan, who visited the city in 1600, "are so stocked with inmates that there can hardly be another town so populous for its size" (*E. T.*, p. 93). <sup>2</sup> John Major states that for a hundred years before his day the kings of the Scots had resided almost constantly in Edinburgh (see above, p. 42). <sup>3</sup> The Court of Session, or College of Justice, instituted by James V. in 1532.

(Platea Vaccina, sive Boum).<sup>1</sup> Towards the south the city has been extended in breadth much beyond its ancient limit, as it has in length towards the east; for at the present time the Grassmarket and the Horsemarket are within the city walls, which, according to national custom, are not so strong as to resist cannon-balls—the custom of the Scots being to defend their cities with arms and not with walls.<sup>2</sup> There are five gates, two to the east, of which the first is known as the Netherbow, because it stands on the slope of the most important street in the city, namely, High Street; the second is the Cowgate Port: towards the south there are also two gates, of which the one furthest east is called the Potterrow Port, and the second the Society Port, that is, the Society of the Brewers: the fifth is the West Port.<sup>3</sup> The castle has been carefully repaired by late kings, and strengthened by breastworks on the east. There is one great church in the city which is at present separated into three distinct buildings for sacred purposes,<sup>4</sup> the eastern, the middle, and the western, to each of which pertains its own parish. Near the church is the edifice (palatium) known as the Parliament House, where the Three Estates meet to deliberate on grave affairs of State, and where also the Courts of Justice meet. Towards the south, beyond the Cowgate, is a pile of new buildings of elegant construction, known as Heriot's Hospital from the name of its founder.<sup>5</sup> Towards the east, and not far from the hospital, is the church of the Gray Friars (so-called from their mixed colour), where is the public cemetery of the city within the walls.

<sup>1</sup> Maitland proved that no such loch could ever have existed on the site of the Cowgate (*History of Edinburgh*, p. 173). <sup>2</sup> This was the boast of all the Scottish historians. In the times when defences were most needed Perth was the only fortified town in Scotland (see above, p. 43). Buchanan's lines are well known:—

“Nec fossa et muris patriam sed Marte tueri,  
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam.”

*Sylvæ*, iv.

<sup>3</sup> All these gates now exist only in name. <sup>4</sup> Brome, visiting Edinburgh a few years later (1669), says that St Giles's Church was divided into “six sermon houses” (*E. T.*, p. 244). Cf. Nicoll's *Diary*, pp. 170, 174. <sup>5</sup> Begun in 1628, but not completed till 1659. Brereton, who saw it in the process of building, calls it “a dainty hospital;” Brome “a curious structure;” and De Rocheford says that “no one but would at first sight take it for a palace” (*E. T.*, pp. 141, 246, 222).



On the south also at present stands the University (Academia) of the city, magnificently enlarged and adorned with buildings.<sup>1</sup> Behind it is a new church, called Yester's, lately built at the expense of the Lady of Yester.<sup>2</sup> Near it is the public school, where humane letters are taught.<sup>3</sup> To the south side of the Great or High Street is a magnificent new building near the old weighing-machine (Libripendium), for which reason it is called the weigh-house (*Ædes Libripendii*).<sup>4</sup> On the north side of the great church and close to it is the public prison where was the ancient tolbooth.<sup>5</sup> In the middle of the great street is the public cross,<sup>6</sup> where all public proclamations are wont to be made by the voice of a herald. From the Netherbow with a gentle descent stretches a long street, commonly called the Canongate, which extends to the Abbey of Holyrood. This street, also, is adorned on either side and throughout its whole length with elegant buildings, forming a continuous row.<sup>7</sup> In this street is an elegant tolbooth, where is the public prison.<sup>8</sup> About the middle of the street a cross is erected,<sup>9</sup> at which the market of the suburb is held on stated days; for this street and way of the canons is within the walls of the city. And nearer the Abbey another cross is erected, which is known as the Cross of the Precincts,<sup>10</sup> because between it and the Abbey a certain space is marked off, which was formerly kept as an asylum for those who

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the College of Edinburgh, De Rocheford says:—"I was shown a pretty good library, but the building is not remarkable; it has a court, and the schools are round about it" (*E. T.*, p. 222). <sup>2</sup> The old Lady Yester's Church, built in 1644, stood at the corner of the High School Yard. <sup>3</sup> The old High School was erected in 1554, and demolished in 1777. <sup>4</sup> According to Nicoll (*Diury*, p. 48), the old weigh-house was destroyed by Cromwell in 1650, and the new one not begun till 1660. Buchanan's mention of the new weigh-house, therefore, fixes the date of his "Description" later than has been assigned to it. <sup>5</sup> The old tolbooth was taken down in 1561 by order of Queen Mary. <sup>6</sup> The old cross, rebuilt in 1617, was pulled down in 1756. <sup>7</sup> Speaking of the High Street and the Canongate, Taylor the Water-Poet (1618) says that it was "the fairest and goodliest street that ever mine eyes beheld." <sup>8</sup> The Canongate Tolbooth dates from the reign of James VI. <sup>9</sup> This cross stood nearly opposite to the Tolbooth. <sup>10</sup> The Girth Cross, which formed the ancient boundary of the Abbey Sanctuary. "Every vestige of it has since been removed, but the ancient privileges, which it was destined to guard, still survive as a curious memorial of the ecclesiastical founders of the burgh" (Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh*, p. 306, edit. 1816).

dared not venture abroad on account of the rigour of the law or the injustice of the supreme law (*summi juris injuria*). Since last century the Abbey has been turned to other uses, for there is there an elegant palace built by James V., although the work has not been completed.<sup>1</sup> - The houses of the canons are set apart for the use of those in attendance on the court. There is here also a church of elegant construction, but partly in ruins. On the south side of the Canongate, not far from the public cross, are the house<sup>2</sup> and gardens of the Earl of Moray, of such elegance, and cultivated with such diligence, that they easily challenge comparison with the gardens of warmer climates, and almost of England itself. And here you may see how much human skill and industry avail in making up for the defects of nature herself. Scarcely would one believe that in severe climates such amenity could be given to gardens. But to return to the Netherbow of the city. Running northward from it is a sloping street, called Leith Wynd, because it forms the road to Leith. At the foot of this street is a gate near which is a tolerably fine church, called the College Church,<sup>3</sup> from the College of the Canons, who, in the time of the Roman superstition performed the religious ceremonies there. This church was built by the widow of James III. It is beside my present purpose to specify the different periods when these additions were made to the city, and from what princes it received its privileges on the occasion of this increase. The affairs of the city are in the hands of a provost, who for some time past has been chosen every year from the number of the citizens, while formerly some neighbouring noble held this office. The provost has assessors, an ex-provost, and four magistrates (*scabinos*), whom they call bailies; and these also are chosen every year from the well-to-do citizens. Occasionally the provost and bailies are continued in office beyond the year. The suburb of the Canongate is under the provost of the city, from which it

<sup>1</sup> The old Palace of Holyrood, begun by James IV. and completed by James V., was almost completely destroyed by fire in 1650. The new palace was rebuilt by the order of Cromwell, whose troops were responsible for the burning of the old one. <sup>2</sup> Moray House was built in the early part of the reign of Charles I. by Mary, Countess of Hume. <sup>3</sup> The Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity founded by Mary of Gueldres in 1462 (see above, p. 108).

receives a bailie and a clerk, or keeper of the register. Leith also has of late been under the provostship of Edinburgh, which every year assigns it bailies and a keeper of the register. The suburb beyond the West Port has also its own bailie. The whole municipality (*civitas*) comprises not only the city within the walls, but expressly the two largest suburbs—the suburb beyond the West Port, the Canongate, and Leith. Edinburgh is our noblest centre of trade, where not only home products are sold to those living at hand, but home and foreign products are also sent to every part of the country. The whole city is divided into eight districts or neighbourhoods called the quarters of the city. In each district or quarter the youths have their own leader or captain, lieutenant and standard-bearer (*antesignanum*), whom they follow.

Leith is situated at the mouth of a river of the same name, and on both sides of it, so that the town is divided into two districts, joined by a stone bridge. Each district has its own church.<sup>1</sup> There is only one tolbooth and a public prison, serving for both districts, and one public school.<sup>2</sup> At the very mouth of the river is a harbour, the most commodious as it is the most famous in the country. On both sides of the mouth are piers projecting into the sea, constructed of stakes fixed in the ground, and secured at frequent intervals by transverse beams. Between the stakes or piles and the transverse beams are inserted huge stones with which the intervening spaces are filled, the stones being covered with planks of wood, and thus the whole pier is constructed. The pier on the east side of the mouth is much larger than the other; hence, it is specially known as the pier of Leith.<sup>3</sup> At different periods, in times of war, Leith has been surrounded by a rampart or earthen wall, which the inhabitants destroyed in time of peace lest the city should be occupied by a garrison of soldiers, whose presence in fortified towns is injurious to trade.

<sup>1</sup> "The town of Leith is built all of stone; but it seemeth to me but a poor place" (Brereton (1636), *E.T.*, p. 142). <sup>2</sup> The old Tolbooth of Leith was erected in 1565. It was demolished in spite of the protest of Sir Walter Scott among others. <sup>3</sup> Tucker, the Commissioner of Cromwell (1655), describes Leith as having "a convenient drye harbour into which the Firth ebbs and flows every tyde; and a convenient key on the one side thereof, of a good length, for landing of goods" (*E.T.*, pp. 163-4).

# JOURNEY CHAIRGIS FROM EDINBURGH TO ST ANDROIS

(1663).

THE following notes of the expenses of a journey between St Andrews and Edinburgh in 1663 are taken from the Memorandum Book of Archbishop Sharp, published in Vol. ii. Part ii. of the *Maitland Miscellany*. In explanation both of this extract and that which immediately follows it, we give a passage<sup>1</sup> from Ray the Naturalist's account of Scotland, in which he specifies the different Scottish coins then in use, and notes their value relative to those of England. "Their money," he says, "they reckon after the French manner. A bodel (which is the sixth part of our penny) they call tway-pennies, that is with them two-pence; so that, upon this ground, 12 pennies, or a shilling Scotch (that is, six bodels), is a penny sterling. The Scotch piece marked with xx, which we are wont to call a Scotch two-pence, is twenty-pence Scotch, that is, two-pence sterling, wanting two bodels, or four pennies Scotch; the piece with XL is four-pence sterling—4 bodels; and so one shilling sterling is 12 shillings Scotch. Thirteen pence half-penny English, a mark Scotch. One pound Scotch, 20*l.* sterling. One bodel they call tway-pennies (as above), 2 bodels a plack, 3 bodels a baubee, 4 bodels 8 pennies, 6 bodels 1 shilling Scotch."

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|                                            |           |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To Mr Williame Sharpe stewart in drink     |           |
| money . . . . .                            | 002 18 00 |
| To the undir servand both at his Lordships |           |
| directioun . . . . .                       | 001 09 00 |
| For a horse to Leith . . . . .             | 000 06 00 |

<sup>1</sup> See *E.T.*, p. 240.

|                                                                         |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| For his Lordships fraught and company . . .                             | 002 18 00 |
| For carieng the graith <sup>1</sup> from the shoare . . .               | 000 03 00 |
| For corne and straefor the two geldines a night . . .                   | 001 08 00 |
| For aill and bread to the servands be the way . . .                     | 000 12 00 |
| To a mane that guydit the coatch . . .                                  | 000 12 00 |
| For the horse hyre that turned frome Balfarg <sup>2</sup> . . .         | 000 16 00 |
| For a bagage horse hyre to St Androis . . .                             | 002 02 00 |
| For 2 horse to Leuchars to wait on his Grace . . .                      | 000 12 00 |
| For a horse hyre to Mr Robert Honymans<br>admission at Couper . . . . . | 000 12 00 |
| The comptar chairges that day . . . . .                                 | 000 18 00 |

## FROM ST ANDROIS TO EDINBURGH AUGUST 7.

|                                                                                           |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| For a brydell to Williame Sharp horse at my<br>Lordis directioun . . . . .                | 000 12 00 |
| My Lords denner at Kinghorne in vyne <sup>3</sup> flesch<br>aill bread &c. . . . .        | 003 18 00 |
| To Williame Wallace that returned with thrie<br>horse . . . . .                           | 000 18 00 |
| For wyne beir and bread at Leith at my Lordis<br>landing . . . . .                        | 001 04 00 |
| To the coatchman and footman that brought<br>my Lord from Leith <sup>4</sup> . . . . .    | 000 16 00 |
| To the Lord Carnegies coatchman that was<br>disapoynted, at Mr Williames dirrection . . . | 000 12 00 |

## FROM EDINBURGH TO ST ANDROIS SEPTEMBER 11.

|                                                                                   |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To my Lord Glasgowes coatchman and foot-<br>man for the coatch to Leith . . . . . | 001 16 00 |
| To the poore <sup>5</sup> at Edinburgh and going to the<br>boat . . . . .         | 000 06 00 |

<sup>1</sup> Luggage. <sup>2</sup> About a mile to the north-west of Markinch. <sup>3</sup> Wine. <sup>4</sup> A public coach ran between Edinburgh and Leith at this date. An entry in *Cunningham's Diary* (p. 111, Scot. Text Soc.) informs us that he paid two shillings Scots for a place for his wife. Sharp must have hired a special conveyance for himself. <sup>5</sup> From the next extract it will be seen that gifts to beggars were a regular item in the expenses of well-to-do people in the 17th century. The country literally swarmed with beggars. It was about this very period that Fletcher of Saltoun estimated their number at 200,000.



|                                                                                                                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| For Ralphe and the 2 geldings fraught to<br>Kinghorne. . . . .                                                                      | 001 04 00 |
| 12.—For my Lord quarter that night and nixt<br>morning and for aill to the workmen<br>about the coach conforme to accompt . . . . . | 005 04 04 |
| To poor at Kinghorne at several tymes . . . . .                                                                                     | 000 03 00 |

## JOURNEY FROM ST ANDROIS TO EDINBURGH SEPTEMBER 21.

|                                                                                                                     |           |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To the poor at my Lords lodgeing . . . . .                                                                          | 000 12 00 |
| For super at Leith with the Bishops of<br>Aberdeine, Caithnes conforme to ane ac-<br>compt of particulars . . . . . | 005 18 00 |
| For ane hakney coatche frome Leith to Edin-<br>burgh being late and dark . . . . .                                  | 002 08 00 |

## JOURNEY FROM EDINBURGH TO ST ANDROIS 15 OCTOBER.

|                                                                                                                                                |           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| To Helen the work lasse . . . . .                                                                                                              | 002 18 00 |
| For a cart to Leith with two barrellis of buttur<br>and the graith . . . . .                                                                   | 000 12 00 |
| To the poore at Leith . . . . .                                                                                                                | 000 06 00 |
| For 2 horsses frome Edinburgh to Leith for<br>James Veillie and Mr George . . . . .                                                            | 000 12 00 |
| To my Lord Glasgows coachman and foot-<br>man at my Lordis directioun . . . . .                                                                | 002 08 00 |
| Payed costoum at the Netherbow Leith and<br>Kinghorne . . . . .                                                                                | 000 06 00 |
| 23.—For horse frome Leith to Edinburgh in a<br>great rayne . . . . .                                                                           | 000 06 00 |
| For allowance to Mr George in his sex dayes<br>absence . . . . .                                                                               | 005 08 00 |
| 25.—Chairgis of thrie men and horsses at<br>Kilrenny <sup>1</sup> being sent by my Lord to speak<br>James Watsone anent his marriage . . . . . | 001 05 00 |
| For horse hyre to the notar that went alongis                                                                                                  | 000 12 00 |
| Instrument money . . . . .                                                                                                                     | 000 06 00 |

<sup>1</sup> In the East Neuk of Fife.

|                                                                         |           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Nov. 3.—When my Lord went to Falkland<br>to a guyd be the way . . . . . | 000 06 00 |
| For corne and strae to the 4 coatch horses ther                         | 000 18 00 |
| For corne and strae to the 2 sadill horses .                            | 000 08 00 |
| To divers poore people in Falkland .                                    | 000 04 00 |
| To drink money at Mr Williame Barclay<br>his hous . . . . .             | 001 10 00 |
| To the poore people at Falkland ane other<br>tyme . . . . .             | 000 06 00 |

WILLIAM CUNINGHAM:  
A SCOTTISH LAIRD'S ACCOUNT-BOOK  
(1674).

NOT the least interesting volume among the publications of the Scottish History Society is the *Diary* of William Cuningham of Craigends in the county of Renfrew. As a picture of the life of a Scottish laird of the 17th century, of his tastes, his pursuits, his entire household economy, the *Diary* leaves little to be desired. The following passage from the interesting introduction by its editor, the Rev. James Dodds, D.D., supplies all the information needed to understand the extract we have given. That extract contains only the entries for 1675; but as the items are necessarily much the same from year to year, it is perhaps sufficient to give a satisfactory idea of the interest and value of the book as a whole.

"During the period covered by the volume," says Dr Dodds, "the house of Craigends was jointly occupied by Alexander Cuningham, father of the writer, and the diarist, his only son. In accordance with a practice not unusual at the period, the elder Cuningham seems to have transferred the estates to his son, about the time of the marriage of the latter, retaining only certain liferent rights to himself and wife. The elder Cuningham had married Janet, daughter of William Cuningham of Auchinyards, and had issue five children: William, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Janet, and Marion. Wodrow in his *Analecta* incidentally states that this marriage took place when Alexander Cuningham was only nineteen years of age. He was comparatively a young man when his son on 22nd April 1673 brought home to Craigends as his wife Anne, daughter of Lord Ruthven, and widow of Sir William Cuningham of Cuninghamhead, in the parish of

Dreghorn. As was often the case in those times, when commodious houses were few and farm rents were small, the father and mother, with their daughters and their son and daughter-in-law, lived together in the family mansion,—an old roomy building that stood till recently, with its thick walls, in which were secret recesses for concealment in troublous times. At Craigends the joint household kept a common table, the young couple paying their parents for board, in terms of agreements which are fully set forth in the manuscript.”<sup>1</sup>

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|                                                     |   |   |          |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---|---|----------|
| <i>Janry.</i> 1. To my sister Rebecca for her nuir- |   |   |          |
| gift, <sup>2</sup>                                  | . | . | £02 16 0 |
| To my sister Jean,                                  | . | . | 00 8 0   |
| To Jonet,                                           | . | . | 00 14 0  |
| To Marion,                                          | . | . | 00 12 0  |
| To Anne,                                            | . | . | 01 0 0   |
| To Katherin Browne,                                 | . | . | 01 10 0  |
| To Patrik Cristie,                                  | . | . | 00 2 8   |
| To James Forgie,                                    | . | . | 00 6 4   |
| 3. To Peter Patisoun,                               | . | . | 01 0 0   |
| To W <sup>m</sup> Hopkin, in payment of a           |   |   |          |
| glasse of ink he bought me,                         | . | . | 00 0 8   |
| To Mr Alex <sup>r</sup> Forbes, in payment of       |   |   |          |
| 2 dozen of penns,                                   | . | . | 00 1 0   |
| 4. To Kilbarchen bred, <sup>3</sup>                 | . | . | 00 2 0   |
| 9. Spent in Kilbarchen,                             | . | . | 00 10 0  |
| 11. To Kilb bred,                                   | . | . | 00 1 0   |
| 13. To Pasley bred,                                 | . | . | 00 2 0   |

<sup>1</sup> It may be said that the mode of life suggested by the various entries in *Cunningham's Diary* is something very different from that presented in Kirk's pasquinade against Scotland. <sup>2</sup> New Year's gift. <sup>3</sup> "The 'kirk bred,' 'brod,' or 'box,' was a capacious chest set up at church doors, and occasionally at other places of public resort, for the reception of contributions in money as a provision for the poor. It was divided internally into two compartments, and in the lid over each was a slit, one small for silver, and the other larger for copper coins. Specimens of such boxes may still be seen in some of the session-houses of old Scottish churches. They had two locks, the respective keys of which were in the possession of different members of the kirk-session, and it was understood that no elder should have access to the contents unless accompanied by a colleague" (Dr Dodds, Introduction to *Cunningham's Diary*, p. xx.).

1674.

|               |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |    |   |
|---------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>Jan'y.</i> | 15. | To my mother in pt of boording, <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                      | £64 | 0  | 0 |
|               | 18. | To Kilb bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 23. | To Pasley bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               |     | Spent at Pasley,                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|               | 24. | To Matthew Allason to pay his<br>fraught in going over to Law,                                                                                                                                                                    | 00  | 1  | 4 |
|               |     | To Kilbar bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 8 |
|               | 28. | Sent to Glasgow for a horse<br>comb,                                                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 13 | 4 |
|               | 30. | To Kilb bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 0 |
| <i>Feb'y.</i> | 1.  | To Kilbar bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 6.  | To Pasley bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               |     | Sent to Glasgow for a horse brush,                                                                                                                                                                                                | 00  | 15 | 0 |
|               | 8.  | To Kilbarchen bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 13. | To Kilb bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               |     | To Kilb bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 17. | To a poor man that had a Testi-<br>monial, <sup>2</sup>                                                                                                                                                                           | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|               | 20. | To Kilbar bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               |     | Spent at Kilbarchen with Barochan, <sup>3</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 10 | 0 |
|               | 22. | To Kilbarchen bred,                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 24. | Sent to Pasley with William Cun-<br>ingham, tailour, <sup>4</sup> for furnishing to<br>the altering my mourning cloke,<br>for ten dozen buttons, 45s.; for<br>ane yard of silk, 21s. 4d.; for<br>threed, 4s.; for a quarter and a |     |    |   |

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham and his wife boarded with his father and mother, and paid a sum expressly agreed upon. <sup>2</sup> Like the word *Testificat* below, means a licence to be granted by magistrates or a kirk-session to mendicants. <sup>3</sup> That is, the laird of Barochan. <sup>4</sup> "Having before been in terms with Wm. Cunningham, Tailour, anent fixing him to be my man, whereanent also I had made a condition at 8 lb. in the half-year. But then I altered it, and, mostly, of my own good will, hightened it to 10 lb. a half-year, giving him presently a suit of old cloaths, and old boots, and hat, promising also always to hold him in cloaths beside his fie; for which he is to serve me as my man, to work my Tailour work, and my wife's, and her son's and gentlewoman's; and is to work my mother's Tailour work upon what terms she pleases. I had promised him also a pair shoos in the half-year; and when I told him of keeping my ston'd horse at grasse in summer, I engaged to hold him in shoos. I told him also that he might take in other folk's work to the house, providing he work it without prejudice of my work and service, and my mother's" (*Diary*, pp. l. 2).



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|               |                                                                                                                                                                          |     |    |   |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
|               | half of serge, 15s.; for waltin, <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                            |     |    |   |
|               | 3s.; inde in haill, . . . . .                                                                                                                                            | £04 | 8  | 4 |
| <i>Febry.</i> | 25. To James Black, smith, in paymt of<br>acompt as follows :—                                                                                                           |     |    |   |
|               | 1. Horse shooing since June 10, 1673,                                                                                                                                    | 05  | 13 | 0 |
|               | 2. Some of the mails <sup>2</sup> given to my study,                                                                                                                     | 01  | 9  | 2 |
|               | 3. My study door bands, <sup>3</sup> . . . . .                                                                                                                           | 00  | 13 | 4 |
|               | 4. For 2 snecks <sup>4</sup> and 2 locks, . . . . .                                                                                                                      | 00  | 6  | 8 |
|               | 5. Other little small things, . . . . .                                                                                                                                  | 00  | 7  | 0 |
|               | 27. Sent to Glasgow for 6 ell of girth-<br>ing, 13s.; for 2 taggs, 4s.; for<br>four girth heads, 2s.; inde of all,<br>Given Matth Allason that bought<br>them, . . . . . | 00  | 19 | 0 |
| <i>March</i>  | 1. To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 3. To Cunninghamheid <sup>5</sup> to cast at the<br>cock, . . . . .                                                                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 7. Sent to Glasgow to buy ratt poison,                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|               | 8. To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|               | 13. To Kilb bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 15. To Pasley bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                            | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|               | My reckning in Thomas Wilson's, . . . . .                                                                                                                                | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|               | To the stabler boy there, . . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 22. To Kilbarchen bred and a poor man,                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 4 |
|               | 25. Given to a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                                           | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 26. Sent to Glasgow for 3 quair paper, . . . . .                                                                                                                         | 00  | 13 | 6 |
|               | 27. To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                        | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | 28. To my wife to give in charity to the<br>relict and child of a minister<br>called Mr. Ja Dunbar, . . . . .                                                            | 06  | 3  | 0 |
|               | 29. To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                        | 00  | 1  | 0 |
| <i>April</i>  | 3. For sharpening my razor, . . . . .                                                                                                                                    | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|               | To Pasley bred, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|               | My Reckning in Tho Wilson's, . . . . .                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 6  | 8 |
|               | To the stabler at Glasgow at David<br>Cuninghams burial, . . . . .                                                                                                       | 00  | 2  | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> Sewing on a welt. <sup>2</sup> Boxes. <sup>3</sup> Hinges. <sup>4</sup> Door-latches. <sup>5</sup> Sir William Cuninghame of Cuninghamehead, in the parish of Dreghorn. He was stepson to the author of the *Diary*.

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|              |     |                                                                                               |     |    |    |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>April</i> | 5.  | To the bred at the bridge <sup>1</sup> port in Glasgow, . . . . .                             | £00 | 0  | 10 |
|              | 8.  | To Gavin Moodie for his prognostication, <sup>2</sup> . . . . .                               | 00  | 0  | 6  |
|              | 10. | To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|              | 12. | To a poor woman with a Testimonial, . . . . .                                                 | 00  | 4  | 0  |
|              |     | To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              | 16. | Sent to Glasgow by William Hopkin for a qrter pound of sweet hair powder, . . . . .           | 00  | 9  | 0  |
|              | 18. | To a poor woman in the paroch, . . . . .                                                      | 00  | 3  | 4  |
|              | 19. | To Kilbarchen bred, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              | 23. | To Wm Cuningham, Tailour, in gratuity, having fied him to be my man, . . . . .                | 00  | 6  | 8  |
|              |     | Sent in to Glasgow to my cusing Richard to give the post for me as I employ him, . . . . .    | 00  | 18 | 0  |
|              |     | To Wm. Hopkin that he gave for sharpening my razor yesterday at Pasley, . . . . .             | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              | 24. | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                          | 00  | 0  | 6  |
|              | 26. | To Kilb bred and a poor man, . . . . .                                                        | 00  | 1  | 4  |
|              | 29. | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                          | 00  | 0  | 4  |
| <i>May</i>   |     | To a blind scholar in Barochan's <sup>3</sup> land, called Wm Jamieson, in charity, . . . . . | 00  | 13 | 4  |
|              | 1.  | To Kilb bred, . . . . .                                                                       | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              |     | To Ro <sup>t</sup> Cuningham, Apothecar, for ane use of my wife's, . . . . .                  | 01  | 10 | 0  |
|              | 3.  | To Kilb bred, . . . . .                                                                       | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              | 5.  | To my wife, . . . . .                                                                         | 08  | 0  | 0  |
|              | 7.  | Spent where I stabled at Kilma- colm, . . . . .                                               | 00  | 5  | 2  |
|              |     | To two poor men there, . . . . .                                                              | 00  | 0  | 8  |

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this bridge in 1636, see *E.T.*, p. 152. <sup>2</sup> Probably a weather almanac. <sup>3</sup> The name of a hamlet and an estate in Houston Parish, Renfrewshire.

1674.

|            |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |     |    |    |
|------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>May</i> | 8.  | To Kilbarchen bred, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                     | £00 | 1  | 0  |
|            | 10. | To Kilb bred, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|            | 13. | For three fish hooks, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 0  | 8  |
|            |     | To a poor man, David Hay, that had<br>a testimonial from Arskin, . . . .                                                                                                                                                        | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|            | 15. | To the bred and poor folk in Pasley,<br>Spent at Pasley where we lighted, . .                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 1  | 10 |
|            |     | To Matthew Allason to help him to<br>a pair shoos, being to run to Free-<br>land with me, . . . .                                                                                                                               | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|            | 17. | To Kilbarchen bred or box, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|            | 18. | For a horn comb that Wm Cuning-<br>ham had bought me at Glasgow<br>on May 13, 1674, . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 11 | 0  |
|            |     | A pair stirrup leathers, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|            |     | Reins to a snifle bitt, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 00  | 8  | 6  |
|            |     | Spent by John Fleming and the<br>horse in Glasgow when getting<br>them, . . . .                                                                                                                                                 | 00  | 1  | 10 |
|            | 19. | For 2 whangs <sup>1</sup> for girths sowing, . .                                                                                                                                                                                | 00  | 0  | 6  |
|            |     | To a poor woman at the gate, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                            | 00  | 0  | 8  |
|            |     | To Wm Cuningham to buy 4 ell<br>stuff to be a Livery coat, 42s.;<br>for thread and wax candle, 5s. 4d.;<br>a chappin <sup>2</sup> of ale drunk, 1s.; and<br>for making the coat, 12s.; inde<br>in hail for the sd coat, . . . . | 03  | 0  | 0  |
|            | 20. | To John Lyle for boots and shoos<br>mending, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                            | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|            |     | To Wm Cuningham funder to help<br>him to some things, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 10 | 0  |
|            |     | To John Fliming to by a pr shoos<br>to himself with, . . . .                                                                                                                                                                    | 01  | 10 | 0  |
|            | 21. | To my cusings, Wm Cuningham and<br>Wm Shaw, at Renfrew school, . .                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|            |     | To the Ferryboat of Renfrew for<br>carrying us over, 5 horse and 9<br>persons, . . . .                                                                                                                                          | 00  | 12 | 0  |

<sup>1</sup> Leather thongs. <sup>2</sup> Chopin = a quart.

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|     |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |     |    |    |
|-----|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| May | 21. | To a poor woman to pay her fraught, <sup>1</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                           | £00 | 1  | 0  |
|     |     | To 4 poor folk on the way to Stirling,                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 4  |
|     |     | Payed of custom at Cartintalloch, <sup>2</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                             | 00  | 1  | 8  |
|     |     | For our bait at Arnbrue, <sup>3</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 01  | 17 | 6  |
|     |     | To Mat Allason for drink by the way,                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 00  | 4  | 8  |
|     | 22. | For our quarters at Stirling that night:—Man's meat, 3 lb., 4s. 6d.; 5 horse meat, 2 lb., 5s.; a mutchkin <sup>4</sup> of wine, 5s.; a glasse broken, 6s. 8d.; drink silver to the Lasse, 6s. 6d.; to the stabler lad, 6s.; inde in haill, | 06  | 13 | 8  |
|     |     | To the beggars at Stirling and on the way to Freeland,                                                                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 3  | 2  |
|     |     | For our bait at Blackfoord,                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 01  | 1  | 0  |
|     | 23. | To my wife,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 72  | 0  | 0  |
|     |     | To a poor man at Freeland <sup>5</sup> gate,                                                                                                                                                                                               | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|     |     | To Cuninghd to give the bred of Erne,                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|     | 26. | To the Ferryboat man of Erne,                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|     | 27. | To a poor lad at Freeland gate,                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 00  | 0  | 6  |
|     |     | Lost at Bullets <sup>6</sup> among our servants,                                                                                                                                                                                           | 00  | 4  | 0  |
|     | 28. | To the ferryboatman at Erne,                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 00  | 4  | 6  |
|     |     | To a poor woman at Maillart, <sup>7</sup>                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 00  | 0  | 8  |
|     |     | For 4 pair of shivrons <sup>8</sup> at Perth,                                                                                                                                                                                              | 01  | 16 | 0  |
|     |     | To a poor man and poor woman,                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|     |     | To the ferryboats of Tay at our going to and coming from Scoone,                                                                                                                                                                           | 01  | 4  | 0  |
|     |     | To the beddall of Scoon for letting us see the kirk,                                                                                                                                                                                       | 00  | 13 | 4  |
|     |     | To a barber for polling Cuninghd's hair,                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 9  | 0  |
|     |     | Payed of custom for 5 horse at Erne bridge,                                                                                                                                                                                                | 00  | 1  | 8  |

<sup>1</sup> Passage. <sup>2</sup> Kirkintilloch. <sup>3</sup> Now Arnbrae, near Kilsyth. <sup>4</sup> A pint. <sup>5</sup> In parish of Forgandenny, Perthshire. <sup>6</sup> Bowls. <sup>7</sup> Now Mailer. <sup>8</sup> Kid gloves, for which, as we know from the *Fair Maid of Perth*, that town was early famous. Cf. French *chevreau*, a kid.

1674.

|             |     |                                                         |     |    |    |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>May</i>  | 29. | To the man that keeps Freeland                          |     |    |    |
|             |     | Haugh, . . . . .                                        | £00 | 13 | 4  |
|             |     | To a poor woman at the gate, . . . . .                  | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|             |     | To the fool at Freeland, . . . . .                      | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|             |     | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                    | 00  | 0  | 2  |
|             | 30. | To John Fliming for a pint of ale                       |     |    |    |
|             |     | he gave the man he got straw                            |     |    |    |
|             |     | from, . . . . .                                         | 00  | 1  | 4  |
|             |     | Also for horse meat he payed when                       |     |    |    |
|             |     | we were at Scoon, . . . . .                             | 00  | 2  | 4  |
| <i>June</i> |     | To the sd John, of old debt I was                       |     |    |    |
|             |     | owing him since Octr last, . . . . .                    | 00  | 2  | 8  |
|             |     | To the sd John for getting a tee <sup>1</sup>           |     |    |    |
|             |     | mended, . . . . .                                       | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|             | 1.  | For my bait at the kirk of Beath in                     |     |    |    |
|             |     | Fife on my way to Edinburgh, . . . . .                  | 00  | 7  | 4  |
|             | 2.  | For my Fraught at the Queensferry,                      |     |    |    |
|             |     | To John Fliming for bread and drink                     |     |    |    |
|             |     | the evening before and thatmorn-                        |     |    |    |
|             |     | ing, . . . . .                                          | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|             |     | To a barber for rasing me, . . . . .                    | 00  | 6  | 8  |
|             |     | For a sword and belt to Cuningham-                      |     |    |    |
|             |     | heid, . . . . .                                         | 05  | 10 | 0  |
|             |     | Of drink silver for the sd sword, . . . . .             | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|             |     | For a dozen lemons and dozen                            |     |    |    |
|             |     | orangers, . . . . .                                     | 02  | 4  | 0  |
|             |     | Spent at the Chocollattee <sup>2</sup> house, . . . . . | 00  | 4  | 0  |
|             | 3.  | For two nights' chamber mail in                         |     |    |    |
|             |     | Edinburgh, . . . . .                                    | 00  | 16 | 0  |
|             |     | Drink silver to the lasse, . . . . .                    | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             |     | For two bughts <sup>3</sup> of confits to take          |     |    |    |
|             |     | to Freeland, . . . . .                                  | 00  | 13 | 4  |
|             |     | For a pair of shoo's, . . . . .                         | 02  | 1  | 4  |
|             |     | For 2 nights' meat to 2 horses, . . . . .               | 01  | 16 | 0  |
|             |     | To the stabler lad of drink silver, . . . . .           | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|             |     | To Pasley post to carry a letter, . . . . .             | 00  | 2  | 0  |

<sup>1</sup> A buckle attached to a horse's collar or saddle. <sup>2</sup> As is well known, coffee-houses and chocolate-houses were the great places of gossip both in England and Scotland at this time. <sup>3</sup> Apparently some kind of bag.



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|             |                                                                                                  |     |    |    |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>June</i> | 3. Given to beggars in Edinburgh and<br>on my way to Freeland, . . .                             | £00 | 4  | 10 |
|             | For my Fraught at the Queensferry, . . .                                                         | 00  | 13 | 4  |
|             | For our bait at Keltie haugh, . . .                                                              | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|             | 4. To beggars at Freeland gate, . . .                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|             | For a remove <sup>1</sup> to the white horse, . . .                                              | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|             | 6. For a Threewe <sup>2</sup> of straw to the stoned<br>horse, . . . . .                         | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|             | For two new shoo's to the gray horse, . . .                                                      | 00  | 10 | 0  |
|             | 7. To the box and beggars at Dron kirk, . . .                                                    | 00  | 3  | 8  |
|             | 8. To a poor wife at Freeland, . . .                                                             | 00  | 0  | 6  |
|             | 9. Given of drink silver in Corby, . . .                                                         | 02  | 16 | 0  |
|             | To a poor man upon the way, . . .                                                                | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|             | 10. Given of drink silver in Naughton, <sup>3</sup> . . .                                        | 02  | 16 | 0  |
|             | 11. Given of drink silver in Hallhill, . . .                                                     | 02  | 16 | 0  |
|             | Given of drink silver in Rankillo, <sup>4</sup> . . .                                            | 02  | 13 | 4  |
|             | To a boy in Rankillo that shure <sup>5</sup><br>grasse, . . . . .                                | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|             | To a poor woman by the way, . . .                                                                | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|             | 13. Cuninghameid to give a poor<br>woman, . . . . .                                              | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|             | 14. To the box of Drone and poor folk, . . .                                                     | 00  | 4  | 8  |
|             | 15. To John Cuningham, tailour at Free-<br>land, for sowing a litle, . . .                       | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             | To a poor man at Freeland Gate, . . .                                                            | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|             | 16. For smith work about our horse<br>shoo's and maill in order to our<br>away coming, . . . . . | 00  | 15 | 0  |
|             | To John Fliming for straw he bought<br>to the stoned horse at Naughton, . . .                    | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|             | For smiddie work he payed, . . .                                                                 | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|             | For a threewe of straw again to the<br>stoned horse while we were at<br>Freeland, . . . . .      | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|             | For seven 4pits <sup>6</sup> of bear to the sd<br>horse, . . . . .                               | 00  | 17 | 6  |
|             | To a poor man at Freeland gate, . . .                                                            | 00  | 0  | 6  |

<sup>1</sup> Change of shoes. <sup>2</sup> Two stooks, or twenty-four sheaves of corn. <sup>3</sup> In parish of Balmerino, Fifeshire. <sup>4</sup> In parish of Collessie, Fifeshire. <sup>5</sup> Shore, cut.

<sup>6</sup> Forpit=one-fourth part of a peck.

1674.

|             |     |                                                 |     |    |    |
|-------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>June</i> | 16. | Left of drink money in Freeland, .              | £03 | 14 | 0  |
|             |     | To Cuninghd to give Henry the                   |     |    |    |
|             |     | Groom, . . . . .                                | 00  | 13 | 4  |
|             |     | To the man that keeps the haugh, <sup>1</sup> . | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|             | 17. | To a poor man by the way to Burley <sup>2</sup> |     |    |    |
|             |     | Gate, . . . . .                                 | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|             |     | To a poor man at Burley Gate, .                 | 00  | 0  | 4  |
|             | 18. | Left of drink money in Burley, .                | 02  | 16 | 0  |
|             |     | To a foot boy at Burley that drew               |     |    |    |
|             |     | my horse, . . . . .                             | 00  | 13 | 8  |
|             |     | To beggars between Burley and                   |     |    |    |
|             |     | Bruntiland, . . . . .                           | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|             |     | To the man that shewed us Lesly                 |     |    |    |
|             |     | house, . . . . .                                | 02  | 10 | 0  |
|             |     | For our bait at Brunt island, .                 | 01  | 0  | 0  |
|             |     | To the beggars there, . . . . .                 | 00  | 0  | 10 |
|             |     | For our fraught to Leith, 5 horses              |     |    |    |
|             |     | and 9 persons, . . . . .                        | 03  | 0  | 0  |
|             | 19. | For our quarters at Leith the night             |     |    |    |
|             |     | preceeding, . . . . .                           | 02  | 18 | 4  |
|             |     | Of drink silver to the Lasse, .                 | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             |     | For 5 horse meat that night, .                  | 02  | 0  | 0  |
|             | 20. | For a horn comb and nightcap, .                 | 01  | 2  | 0  |
|             |     | For a stick of wax, . . . . .                   | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             |     | Lost at bowling green, . . . . .                | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|             |     | Payed of bowll Maill, . . . . .                 | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|             | 21. | For a orenger to Cuninghd, . . . . .            | 00  | 1  | 8  |
|             |     | For a pint of beer to Supper, .                 | 00  | 2  | 4  |
|             |     | For three dish chocolattee, . . . . .           | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             |     | For razing and haircutting, . . . . .           | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|             |     | For a new padd, . . . . .                       | 02  | 8  | 0  |
|             |     | For 3 of us, Cuninghd, my sister,               |     |    |    |
|             |     | and my self, our seeing the Play,               | 04  | 8  | 0  |
|             | 23. | To Andrew Purdie, tailour, his men,             |     |    |    |
|             |     | of drink silver, for severall suits             |     |    |    |
|             |     | of cloaths making, . . . . .                    | 02  | 16 | 0  |

<sup>1</sup> Low-lying flat ground ; properly on the border of a river, and such as is sometimes overflowed (Jamieson). <sup>2</sup> Burleigh, in Orwell Parish, Kinross-shire.

1674.

|             |     |                                                                                                               |     |    |   |
|-------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>June</i> | 23. | Spent in companie with J. Stewart,                                                                            | £00 | 13 | 8 |
|             | 24. | For 4 horse meat in the Park, 5<br>nights at 4s. a night, . . . . .                                           | 04  | 0  | 0 |
|             |     | For my stoned horse at hard meat,<br>the sd 5 nights at 12s. a night, . . . . .                               | 03  | 0  | 0 |
|             |     | For two nights' bedding in the<br>stablars to Mr. Alex <sup>r</sup> Forbes . . . . .                          | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|             |     | For 2 days' dinner to John<br>Fliming and Mathew Allason, . . . . .                                           | 00  | 18 | 0 |
|             |     | For mending the maill pullion, . . . . .                                                                      | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|             |     | For a shoo and remove to some<br>horses, . . . . .                                                            | 00  | 5  | 0 |
|             |     | To the stabler lad of drink silver, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|             | 25. | For our night's quarters at Blak-<br>burn, . . . . .                                                          | 02  | 18 | 0 |
|             |     | To the lad for sheiring grasse, . . . . .                                                                     | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|             |     | For our bait betwixt and Glasgow, . . . . .                                                                   | 00  | 17 | 0 |
|             |     | To my wife to give Dr. Birsban's<br>nurse, . . . . .                                                          | 02  | 18 | 0 |
|             | 26. | Given of drink silver at Pollock, . . . . .                                                                   | 02  | 18 | 0 |
|             |     | To a poor man called Jo Muir, . . . . .                                                                       | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|             |     | To Ma Allason for his running, . . . . .                                                                      | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|             | 28. | To Kilbarchen kirk box, . . . . .                                                                             | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 30. | Given to the foot race at Houstoun, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|             |     | To my Uncle's son, to his fairing, I<br>bought the worth of in sweeties, . . . . .                            | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|             |     | To the beggars at the race, . . . . .                                                                         | 00  | 1  | 4 |
|             |     | I found my money to indrink, <sup>1</sup> by<br>miscounting, the time I was in<br>the east country, . . . . . | 06  | 17 | 6 |
| <i>July</i> | 3.  | To my wife, . . . . .                                                                                         | 08  | 14 | 0 |
|             |     | To my wife, . . . . .                                                                                         | 02  | 18 | 0 |
|             |     | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                                                  | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 5.  | To Kilbar box, . . . . .                                                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 10. | To Pasley kirk box, . . . . .                                                                                 | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             |     | To poor folk at Pasley, . . . . .                                                                             | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             |     | My reckoning at Tho Wilson, . . . . .                                                                         | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|             |     | To the boy that drew my horse, . . . . .                                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> To run short.

1674.

|             |     |                                                                                   |     |    |   |
|-------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>July</i> | 12. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                      | £00 | 1  | 0 |
|             | 13. | To my Mother in part of boarding, . . . . .                                       | 66  | 13 | 4 |
|             | 15. | To John Shaw for milling <sup>1</sup> 16 bolls<br>meil, . . . . .                 | 00  | 16 | 0 |
|             | 17. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 18. | To my wife, . . . . .                                                             | 11  | 12 | 0 |
|             |     | Sent to a post to carry something<br>in to Edinburgh, . . . . .                   | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|             | 19. | To Kilb box, . . . . .                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 21. | To Thomas Millar, cadger, for bring-<br>ing a coffer home from Glasgow, . . . . . | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|             | 24. | To Pasley box and poor folk ther, . . . . .                                       | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|             |     | To my wife, . . . . .                                                             | 12  | 0  | 0 |
|             | 26. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                      | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|             | 31. | To Kilbar box, . . . . .                                                          | 00  | 1  | 0 |

After balancing my compts from the begin-  
ning of the book, and compting the  
money I have by me, I find them to  
jump.<sup>2</sup>

My Charge being, £777 12 2

My Discharge, . 526 17 0

My present money, 250 15 2

|               |    |                                                                               |      |   |   |
|---------------|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|---|---|
| <i>August</i> | 1. | To my Mother in real money, . . . . .                                         | £156 | 6 | 8 |
|               |    | As also for which she took James<br>Moodie her debtour, he owing me . . . . . | 13   | 0 | 0 |
|               |    | This, with the compt of Fowlls<br>and cheese, compleits a year's<br>boarding. |      |   |   |
|               |    | To John Lyle for making a slip to<br>my sword, . . . . .                      | 00   | 6 | 0 |
|               | 2. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                  | 00   | 2 | 0 |
|               |    | To Hugh Muir in part of payment<br>of his compt, . . . . .                    | 133  | 6 | 8 |
|               |    | There was 72 lb. 10s. of that compt<br>for my wife.                           |      |   |   |
|               |    | To the woman that keeps the poor<br>daft lad in Houstoun side, . . . . .      | 00   | 4 | 0 |
|               | 5. | For two pair of slight gloves, . . . . .                                      | 00   | 5 | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> Grinding meal. <sup>2</sup> To tally.

1674.

|      |     |                                                  |     |    |    |
|------|-----|--------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Aug. | 7.  | To Pasley box and poor folk there,               | £00 | 2  | 6  |
|      |     | Paid in Tho: Wilsons, . . . .                    | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      |     | To my Man for stringing to my                    |     |    |    |
|      |     | breech knees that he bought, .                   | 00  | 2  | 6  |
|      |     | For grasse he payed in Renfrew, .                | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|      | 8.  | I gave him to drink about ane                    |     |    |    |
|      |     | errand I sent him to Pasley, .                   | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      | 9.  | To Pasley kirk box and poor folk, .              | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      | 11. | To a poor woman at the gate, .                   | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      | 14. | To Pasley box and poor folk, .                   | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      |     | Lost at tennies with Kilbirnie, .                | 01  | 13 | 6  |
|      |     | Spent in Tho: Wilsons, . . . .                   | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      |     | To my wife to give Johnstoun's                   |     |    |    |
|      |     | nurse, . . . . .                                 | 01  | 10 | 0  |
|      |     | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                     | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|      |     | Left of drink silver at Kerilaw, <sup>1</sup> .  | 01  | 0  | 0  |
|      |     | To beggars that day, . . . . .                   | 00  | 1  | 6  |
|      |     | Payd for drink at Kilmars, . . .                 | 00  | 2  | 8  |
|      |     | To Mr. Gab: Cuningham to give                    |     |    |    |
|      |     | the poor Lady Garriehorne, .                     | 05  | 16 | 0  |
|      | 22. | For two quair of paper, . . . . .                | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|      | 23. | To Pasley box and poor folk, .                   | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|      |     | Payd for drink, . . . . .                        | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|      | 24. | For bred and drink at Dennestoun,                | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|      | 25. | To Pasley box and poor folk, .                   | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|      |     | Payed for bred and drink there, .                | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|      | 26. | To my wife, . . . . .                            | 06  | 0  | 0  |
|      | 28. | To my man to buy a pair shoo's to                |     |    |    |
|      |     | himself with all, . . . . .                      | 01  | 4  | 0  |
|      |     | To him to buy spurs with, . . .                  | 00  | 6  | 8  |
|      |     | To Pasley box and poor folk, .                   | 00  | 2  | 10 |
|      |     | Payed for drink at Pasley, . . .                 | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|      | 29. | To Pasley kirk box, . . . . .                    | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|      |     | To Jas: Stirling, our minr's <sup>2</sup> son, . | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|      | 30. | To Pasley Kirk box, it being a                   |     |    |    |
|      |     | communion day, . . . . .                         | 01  | 10 | 0  |

<sup>1</sup> In parish of Stevenston, Ayrshire. <sup>2</sup> The minister was Mr James Stirling, who more than once found himself in trouble for his staunch Presbyterianism. His son James has given an account of him in *Wodrow's Analecta*.



1674.

|              |     |                                                                                                         |     |    |    |
|--------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|----|
| <i>Aug.</i>  | 31. | To the sd kirk box, . . . . .                                                                           | £00 | 6  | 0  |
|              |     | To the officer that keeps the<br>Councell loft, . . . . .                                               | 00  | 12 | 0  |
|              |     | To the beggars on the 3 preaching<br>days, . . . . .                                                    | 00  | 6  | 2  |
|              |     | Payd for our 2 nights' lodging at<br>Pasley, my wife, my sister, and<br>myself, and servants, . . . . . | 04  | 13 | 0  |
|              |     | To Pasley Almshouse, . . . . .                                                                          | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              |     |                                                                                                         |     |    |    |
| <i>Sept.</i> | 1.  | To the beggars at the Lady Dunlop's<br>burriall, . . . . .                                              | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              |     | For corn to my horses at Irwin, . . . . .                                                               | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|              | 2.  | To Kilwinning kirk box, . . . . .                                                                       | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              |     | To beggars at Kerilaw, . . . . .                                                                        | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              | 4.  | To a poor woman called Susanna<br>Cunningham, . . . . .                                                 | 01  | 17 | 0  |
|              |     | To Pasley box and poor folk, . . . . .                                                                  | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              |     | For half hundred pears, . . . . .                                                                       | 00  | 5  | 0  |
|              |     | For a new snafle bitt sent to Glas-<br>gow, . . . . .                                                   | 00  | 18 | 0  |
|              |     | To Mat Allason for buying it, . . . . .                                                                 | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              | 5.  | To Pasley box and poor folk there, . . . . .                                                            | 00  | 2  | 10 |
|              |     | To William Moodie for running to<br>Pollock with a letter, . . . . .                                    | 00  | 6  | 8  |
|              | 6.  | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0  |
|              | 7.  | To Pasley box and poor folk, . . . . .                                                                  | 00  | 1  | 10 |
|              | 8.  | To Pasley box and poor folk, . . . . .                                                                  | 00  | 2  | 8  |
|              |     | For a chappin of wine ther, . . . . .                                                                   | 00  | 6  | 0  |
|              |     | To the boatman at Renfrew when<br>I put my Lady Ruthven over<br>Clyd, . . . . .                         | 00  | 3  | 0  |
|              |     | Payd in James Paterson's in<br>Pasley, . . . . .                                                        | 00  | 7  | 0  |
|              |     | To my man, which he gave for<br>removing horse shoos at Kil-<br>winning, . . . . .                      | 00  | 3  | 6  |
|              | 9.  | To beggars on my way to Glasgow, . . . . .                                                              | 00  | 2  | 4  |
|              |     | For 2 dozen of apples at Glasg, . . . . .                                                               | 00  | 2  | 0  |
|              |     | To Samuel Bryce in charitie, . . . . .                                                                  | 08  | 0  | 0  |

1674.

|              |     |                                                                                                                                                 |     |    |   |
|--------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>Sept.</i> | 11. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                                                                                    | £00 | 1  | 0 |
|              | 12. | To a poor blind man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                      | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              | 13. | To Kilbar box, . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              |     | For our drink between Sermons at<br>Kilbarchen, the Laird and lady<br>being at Pasley, . . . . .                                                | 00  | 5  | 4 |
|              | 16. | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 0  | 4 |
|              |     | Sent to Pasley to sharp 2 razors<br>4s., and 1s. in drink, . . . . .                                                                            | 00  | 5  | 0 |
|              |     | Sent to Pasley for ink, . . . . .                                                                                                               | 00  | 0  | 6 |
|              | 17. | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              |     | For pears and aples at Pasley, . . . . .                                                                                                        | 00  | 9  | 0 |
|              | 19. | To Andrew Cochran, wright, to buy<br>nails and bands for work in my<br>studie till accompt, . . . . .                                           | 03  | 8  | 0 |
|              |     | To beggars at Barochan, being the<br>day after Akenheid's marriage, . . . . .                                                                   | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              | 20. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . . .                                                                                                                    | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              | 24. | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 0  | 4 |
|              |     | To Pasley box and poor folk there, . . . . .                                                                                                    | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|              | 27. | To Kilbar box and a poor man, . . . . .                                                                                                         | 00  | 1  | 4 |
| <i>Oct.</i>  | 1.  | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              |     | To a poor man called J. Cuning-<br>ham, . . . . .                                                                                               | 01  | 10 | 0 |
|              | 2.  | To Cuninghamheid to send to<br>Greenock to buy chastens <sup>1</sup> with,<br>ther was no chastens gotten, so<br>my wife got the 6d., . . . . . | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|              | 3.  | To a poor man at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              |     | To Andrew Cochran to buy 200<br>moe litle nails to my work, . . . . .                                                                           | 00  | 8  | 0 |
|              | 4.  | To Kilbar box, . . . . .                                                                                                                        | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              | 5.  | To John Speir, notar, for some litle<br>busnesse he did me, . . . . .                                                                           | 00  | 13 | 4 |
|              |     | To a poor wife at the gate, . . . . .                                                                                                           | 00  | 0  | 6 |
|              | 9.  | To Pasley box and poor folk, . . . . .                                                                                                          | 00  | 1  | 8 |
|              |     | For 6 quair of paper in Pasley, . . . . .                                                                                                       | 01  | 7  | 0 |
|              |     | For pellitory to my wife, . . . . .                                                                                                             | 00  | 1  | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> Chestnuts.

1674.

|      |     |                                                                                                                                                             |     |    |   |
|------|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| Oct. | 9.  | Payd in J. Paterson's, . . . .                                                                                                                              | £00 | 2  | 0 |
|      |     | To my wife, . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 12  | 0  | 0 |
|      | 11. | To Kilbar box, . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|      | 16. | To Alex Brisban in gratuity, . .                                                                                                                            | 01  | 9  | 0 |
|      |     | To the sd Alex to buy a lock with<br>for my study door, . . . .                                                                                             | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|      |     | To Hugh Muir, merchand in Edin-<br>burgh, . . . .                                                                                                           | 81  | 10 | 0 |
|      |     | This, with 18 lb. 10s., which, at my<br>wife's desire, I kept from him<br>for some plenishing he got of<br>Cunninghamheid's, compleitly pays<br>his compts. |     |    |   |
|      | 18. | To Kilbar: box, . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 2  | 2 |
|      | 19. | To John Dick for laying marches<br>to the Ash midding, <sup>1</sup> . . . .                                                                                 | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|      | 20. | Sent to Glasgow for 4 Locks, . .                                                                                                                            | 02  | 0  | 0 |
|      |     | To Richard Cunningham in gra-<br>tuity, . . . .                                                                                                             | 01  | 10 | 0 |
|      |     | To the boat of Arskin <sup>2</sup> at my going<br>to and coming from Dumbar-<br>ton, . . . .                                                                | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|      |     | To the souldiers in the castle, . .                                                                                                                         | 00  | 12 | 0 |
|      |     | Spent where I stabled at Dum-<br>barton, . . . .                                                                                                            | 00  | 8  | 0 |
|      |     | To the poor folk by the way, . .                                                                                                                            | 00  | 1  | 4 |
|      |     | To Gavine Moodie for the foir<br>yeard <sup>3</sup> grasse in summer, . .                                                                                   | 01  | 6  | 8 |
|      | 23. | To John Fliming in compleit pay-<br>ment of all his fies, . . . .                                                                                           | 27  | 0  | 0 |
|      | 24. | For 2 Ells half Ell of Rugg to be a<br>coat, . . . .                                                                                                        | 05  | 0  | 0 |
|      | 25. | To Kilbarchen box, . . . .                                                                                                                                  | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|      | 29. | To Robert Cunningham for the seall<br>he caused make to me, . . . .                                                                                         | 05  | 16 | 6 |
|      |     | Left in Kerilaw of Drink money, .                                                                                                                           | 01  | 10 | 0 |
|      | 30. | To Kilbar: box, . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|      |     | To a poor man at the gate, . . .                                                                                                                            | 00  | 0  | 6 |

<sup>1</sup> Heap.<sup>2</sup> Erskine Ferry.<sup>3</sup> Front garden.

1674.

Oct. 31. 1674.—I balanced my compts since July 31.

My lying money the s<sup>d</sup> July 31, 1674,

being, . . . . £250 15 2

My receipts since being, . . . 563 2 4

Inde, £813 17 6

My discharge, . . . 499 12 6

So rests, £314 5 0

After compt of my money

I find I have, . . . 314 4 0

So inlacks 12d.

- Nov. 1. Inlack of the preceding compt, . £00 1 0  
     To Kilbarchen Box, . . . 00 2 0  
 2. For 2 gravats <sup>1</sup> from Edin<sup>r</sup>, . . . 04 0 0  
     To a poor man at gate, . . . 00 0 6  
 4. Sent to Glasgow for 5 dozen of  
     rings to my shottles,<sup>2</sup> . . . 01 10 0  
 6. To Kilbar: box, . . . 00 1 0  
 8. To Kilb: box, . . . 00 1 0  
 9. To poor men at the gate, . . . 00 1 4  
 11. To my wife, being to pay Katherin  
     Brown her fies, . . . 67 6 8  
 13. To Kilbirnie's man at my trysting  
     2 grew <sup>3</sup> whelps from him, . . . 00 9 0  
 15. To Kilbar: box, . . . 00 2 0  
 16. To Ja: Muir for 2 pair shoo's, 1  
     pair whereof was gotten in May  
     last, . . . 03 4 8  
 14. For a horse shoo at Loghinzieugh, . . . 00 3 0  
 16. To Ro Hamletoun, Couper, for dress-  
     ing an old Fatt <sup>4</sup> for the keeping  
     of my horse corn, . . . 00 14 0  
 17. To M<sup>r</sup> Patrick Simpson, min<sup>r</sup> at  
     Kilmacolme,<sup>5</sup> for 4 bolls 1 firlo

<sup>1</sup> Cravats. <sup>2</sup> Shuttles. <sup>3</sup> Greyhound. <sup>4</sup> Vat. <sup>5</sup> He had formerly been chaplain to Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, and more than once suffered for his attachment to Presbytery.

1674.

teind meill, being the last half of  
Dennestoun teind for cropt 1673  
(my tennent having payd the  
other half), the said meill being  
compted at 7 lb. the boll, and 4  
lb. of vicarag, . . . . .

£33 15 0

*Nota.*—The feir<sup>1</sup> was much lesse,  
but I did not stand with the  
minister.

|              |     |                                                                                                                                                           |    |    |   |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|----|---|
| <i>Nov.</i>  | 19. | Sent to Glasgow for 8 Ells of great<br>wire to join the rings to my<br>shottles, . . . . .                                                                | 00 | 9  | 0 |
|              |     | There was 12d. of this given for<br>straw to the horse.                                                                                                   |    |    |   |
|              |     | For some naills to a horse shoo, . .                                                                                                                      | 00 | 0  | 8 |
|              | 20. | To a poor man called George Cun-<br>ingham in charitie, . . . . .                                                                                         | 02 | 16 | 0 |
|              |     | To Kilbarchen Box, . . . . .                                                                                                                              | 00 | 1  | 0 |
|              | 22. | To Kilbarchen Box, . . . . .                                                                                                                              | 00 | 1  | 0 |
|              | 23. | To my man to bear his expenses in<br>Edin and coming out of it, Kath-<br>arin Brown (whom he took<br>thither) bearing the expenses in<br>going, . . . . . | 02 | 8  | 0 |
|              |     | To buy a Psalme book with, in Edin,                                                                                                                       | 00 | 7  | 0 |
|              |     | My man's charges in shooing the<br>horse during that voyage, <sup>2</sup> . . . . .                                                                       | 00 | 7  | 0 |
|              | 26. | To Andrew Cochrane, Wright, in<br>paymt of the 20 dails <sup>3</sup> I bought<br>from him, 15 whereof were bought<br>sawn, . . . . .                      | 13 | 6  | 8 |
|              | 27. | To my man, to give to Kilburnie's<br>man at his receiving the grew<br>whelps from him, now sent for, .                                                    | 00 | 6  | 0 |
|              | 28. | To Kilbarchen Box, . . . . .                                                                                                                              | 00 | 2  | 0 |
| <i>Decr.</i> | 6.  | To Kilbar Box and a poor man, . .                                                                                                                         | 00 | 2  | 4 |
|              | 7.  | To my wife, . . . . .                                                                                                                                     | 12 | 0  | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> The price of grain legally fixed by sheriff and jury in a county. <sup>2</sup> Journey.  
<sup>3</sup> Deals.



1674.

|              |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |     |    |   |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>Decr.</i> | 8.  | To a poor man at the gate, . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | £00 | 0  | 4 |
|              |     | To my man, at my wife's desire, to buy<br>some things for her at Glasgow, .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 48  | 0  | 0 |
|              | 9.  | To M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Thomson, minister at<br>Houstoun, I give the 5 lb. 16s.<br>2d. which on August 21 I have<br>marked given to the Lady Garrie-<br>horn, it being retained by my<br>father off the money he payed<br>her, and so given me back again.<br>Till now I have given it to the<br>s <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> to send to a poor per-<br>secuted min <sup>r</sup> called M <sup>r</sup> Ale <sup>r</sup> Padie, <sup>1</sup><br>who lies prisoner very close in<br>the Basse. |     |    |   |
|              | 11. | To Kilbar Box, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 00  | 1  | 0 |
|              |     | For a pint of Ale at Kilbarchen, .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              | 13. | To Pasley Kirk Box, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 00  | 3  | 0 |
|              |     | Payed in Tho Wilson's in Pasley, .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 00  | 4  | 4 |
|              | 15. | To a poor man that had a testificat<br>from the paroch of Drymen, <sup>2</sup> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 00  | 3  | 0 |
|              | 18. | To Ja. Black, smith, in paymt of<br>ane compt as follows:—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |     |    |   |
|              |     | 1. For horse shoeing since Feb.<br>25, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 05  | 15 | 0 |
|              |     | 2. For p <sup>r</sup> of bands to presses, .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 01  | 17 | 4 |
|              |     | 3. For a key to the lock of my<br>Cornfatt, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 00  | 4  | 0 |
|              | 20. | To Kilbar: box, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              | 21. | To a poor sea-broken German, .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 00  | 6  | 0 |
|              |     | To Jo. Lyle for my man's shoo's<br>mending, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 00  | 8  | 0 |
|              |     | To the s <sup>d</sup> John for a spur leather to<br>him, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 00  | 2  | 0 |
|              |     | To the s <sup>d</sup> Jo. for my slippers mend-<br>ing, and a tagg to a housing<br>girth, . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 00  | 2  | 0 |

<sup>1</sup> This, as Dr Dodds suggests, can hardly be any other than the famous Alexander Peden. <sup>2</sup> In south-west of Stirlingshire.

1674.

|                  |                                                                                                                               |     |    |   |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----|---|
| <i>Decr.</i> 25. | Given in contribution, with other gentlemen at Pollock, for the relieving of one Matthew Stuart out of prison for debt, . . . | £01 | 9  | 0 |
| 26.              | To the violers <sup>1</sup> at Pollock at Rossyth's marriage, . . .                                                           | 02  | 16 | 0 |
| 27.              | To the house of Drinksilver at the s <sup>d</sup> marriage, . . .                                                             | 05  | 12 | 0 |
|                  | To the boy that drew my horse at Pollock, . . .                                                                               | 00  | 13 | 4 |
|                  | To Pasly Kirk box, . . .                                                                                                      | 00  | 6  | 0 |
| 29.              | To Ja. Black, smith, for a p <sup>r</sup> of good bands to my studie door, . . .                                              | 00  | 18 | 0 |
| 30.              | To his prentise of Drinksilver for a long time service, . . .                                                                 | 00  | 4  | 6 |

*A Collection of the depursments.*

|                                                                    |     |   |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|----|
| Summa of the little of the year 1673 contained in this book, . . . | 107 | 2 | 10 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|----|

Sum: of depursments 1674 as follows:—

|                        |     |    |    |
|------------------------|-----|----|----|
| Sum: Januarii, . . .   | 76  | 17 | 8  |
| Sum: Februarii, . . .  | 17  | 13 | 6  |
| Sum: Martii, . . .     | 08  | 9  | 8  |
| Sum: Aprilis, . . .    | 03  | 17 | 10 |
| Sum: Maii, . . .       | 108 | 16 | 6  |
| Sum: Junii, . . .      | 99  | 15 | 8  |
| Sum: Julii, . . .      | 104 | 3  | 4  |
| Sum: Augusti, . . .    | 334 | 1  | 0  |
| Sum: Septembris, . . . | 19  | 2  | 10 |
| Sum: Octobris, . . .   | 146 | 8  | 8  |
| Sum: Novembris, . . .  | 131 | 15 | 6  |
| Sum: Decembris, . . .  | 81  | 13 | 2  |

|                                                                |       |    |   |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|---|
| Sum: Anni 1674, . . .                                          | £1132 | 15 | 4 |
| Sum: when the little of the year 1673 is joined with it, . . . | £1239 | 18 | 2 |

<sup>1</sup> Violin-players.

*A brief Nota how the fores £1239, 18s. 2d. was expended.*

|                                                                                     |       |    |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|----|----|
| 1. There was of it given to my wife, .                                              | £405  | 19 | 8  |
| 2. My compts with merchands, tailors,<br>shoomakers and apoth <sup>rs</sup> , . . . | 195   | 5  | 10 |
| 3. My expense for horse graith and<br>shooing them, . . . . .                       | 18    | 19 | 6  |
| 4. My expense in buying small things, .                                             | 23    | 1  | 4  |
| 5. My expense about my study, .                                                     | 26    | 11 | 6  |
| 6. My charity, { Greater, . . . . .                                                 | 30    | 0  | 6  |
| { Lesser, . . . . .                                                                 | 12    | 3  | 4  |
| 7. My gifts, . . . . .                                                              | 22    | 11 | 0  |
| 8. My expense in Drinksilver, . . . .                                               | 60    | 6  | 2  |
| 9. My expense in travelling, . . . .                                                | 54    | 18 | 6  |
| 10. Expense in Servants travelling, .                                               | 02    | 15 | 10 |
| 11. Other incident expense, . . . .                                                 | 11    | 0  | 10 |
| 12. Our boarding expense, . . . .                                                   | 304   | 0  | 0  |
| 13. Expense in my man's fies, . . . .                                               | 31    | 10 | 8  |
| 14. Expense in teinds paying, . . . .                                               | 33    | 15 | 10 |
| 15. Indrink of my money, . . . .                                                    | 06    | 18 | 8  |
| Sum, . . . . .                                                                      | £1239 | 18 | 2  |

## SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IN an early part of this volume specimens were given of the social legislation of the fifteenth century ; in the extracts which follow we have examples of similar legislation in the seventeenth. It will be seen that the spirit which inspired the lawgivers of both periods is essentially the same. Restrictive measures with regard to foreign goods, and State regulation of trades at home, are the double means by which they sought to develop the national resources.

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### ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND.

*The Laying of Lint in Lochs* (1606).—Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament finding that the laying of lint in lochs and burns is not only very hurtful to all fishes bred within the same, and bestial that drink thereof, but also the whole waters of the said lochs and burns thereby being infected are made altogether unprofitable for the use of man, and very noisome to all the people dwelling thereabout, therefore statute and ordain that no person nor persons in time coming lay in lochs and running burns any green lint, under the pain of forty shillings *toties quoties* for each time they shall contravene, and also confiscation of the lint to the poor of the parish within the which the said burns and lochs lie.

*The Destruction of Woods, Parks, &c.* (1607).—Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of the Parliament considering how woods, parks, and all sort of planting and *hanyng*<sup>1</sup> decay within this realm, and how dovecots are broken, bees stolen,

<sup>1</sup> Hedges or enclosures.

men's proper lochs and stanks<sup>1</sup> robbed to the great hurt and prejudice of the country and decay of policy, therefore ratify and approve all acts of Parliament made before for conservation of planting and policy, and against breakers of dove-cots, stealing of bees and of fishes from men's stanks and proper lochs; and further, the said Estates statute and ordain that whosoever shall be found hereafter to break down his neighbour's woods and park, dykes, fences, stanks, or enclosures to pasture within the said fences, cut trees, broom, or shear grass within the same . . . . shall be called and convened therefore as a breaker of the said law.

*Noblemen's Sons Abroad* (1609).—Forasmuch as the said Estates considering that one of the great causes which have procured the growth and increase of papists within this kingdom has proceeded from the small care and regard that have been had of the education and upbringing of the youth, who, being sent forth of the realm to places of contrary profession, and not being first grounded in religion, and accompanied with pedagogues scarce well affected to religion, they do often return so possessed with superstitious and heretical errors as they may be justly suspected for dangerous subjects in the estate, for preventing of which growth and increase of defection from the true faith by the occasion aforesaid, the Estates, presently convened, statute and ordain that all such noblemen and others who hereafter shall happen to direct any pedagogues with their sons out of the country, shall be held, by virtue of this present act, to have a sufficient testimonial of the bishop of the diocese where the said pedagogue for the most part lately before made his residence, testifying and approving the said pedagogue to be godly and of good religion, learned and instructed in the same; and if any nobleman or other shall happen to send any pedagogue with their sons out of the country without the testimonial and approbation of the bishop in manner above written, in that case the said Estates statute and ordain that every such nobleman and others, according to their several degrees and ranks, shall incur pains particularly underwritten, viz., every earl five thousand pounds,

<sup>1</sup> Standing pools.



every lord five thousand merks, and every baron three thousand merks.<sup>1</sup>

*The Export of Coal* (1609).—Forasmuch as albeit there have been divers acts made by the King's most sacred Majesty and his noble progenitors of famous memory, especially an act made in the one thousand three score and third year of God by his Majesty's dearest mother and her Estates of Parliament for the time, which was hereafter ratified by our sovereign lord in the month of October one thousand three score and nineteen, whereby the transporting of coals out of this realm is prohibited and forbidden under the pain of confiscation of the ship, coals, and all the goods that the owner of the coals has within the ship or vessel, except so many as are needful for fire during the time of their voyage . . . . the nobility, prelates, council, and estates presently convened, ordain new publication to be made of the said acts.

*The Hiring of Shearers on Sundays* (1640).—Forasmuch as the profanation of the Sunday is greatly occasioned in the time of harvest by the great confluence of the people to public places, as ports or streets of Towns and Parish churches of landward, every Sunday from morning to preaching time, for hiring shearers the week following; whereof also there arise sundry tumults, disorders, swearing, drinking, and often fighting on the Sabbath day, for remead hereof the Estates of Parliament, presently convened by his Majesty's special authority, refer and remit the same to be taken order with to the Justices of the Peace and Kirk-sessions where the abuse shall be committed hereafter by the confluence of the said people and hiring of the said shearers

<sup>1</sup> "For the lords temporal and spiritual, temporising gentlemen! if I were apt to speak of any, I could not speak much of them; only I must let you know they are not Scottishmen; for as soon as they fall from the breast of the beast their mother, their careful father posts them away for France, which as they pass, the sea sucks from them that which they have sucked from their rude dams; there they gather new flesh, new blood, new manners; and there they learn to put on their cloaths, and then return into their country to wear them out: there they learn to stand, speak, discourse and congee, to court women, and to compliment with men" ("A perfect Description of the People and Country of Scotland (1617)," *E. T.*, pp. 101-2).

upon the Sunday as said is, or the said Justices of Peace and Kirk-sessions shall find the said abuses then to be committed to deserve.

*Linen Cloth and its Breadth* (1641).—Our Sovereign Lord and Estates presently assembled, finding that linen cloth is become one of the prime commodities of this kingdom, whereby many people are put to work and money is brought within the same, which, partly through the deceit used by the bleachers in limeing thereof, and partly by the uncertainty of the breadth, is likely to come in contempt abroad to the great prejudice of this kingdom, therefore, his Majesty, with consent of the said Estates, statutes and ordains that no makers of linen cloth nor no others whatsoever present to market or otherwise make or sell any linen cloth of the price of ten shillings the ell or above of less breadth than an ell, and all under the same price to be of no less breadth than three-quarters of an ell under the pain of confiscation of all such linen presented to the market or otherwise sold, which shall be found not to be of the breadth abovenamed, and . . . . inhibit all our Sovereign Lord's lieges and subjects, that none of them presume to, nor take upon hand to, bleach any cloth with lime under pain to be punished in their persons and goods at the will of the magistrate within whose bounds they dwell, and last it is statute and ordained that all linen cloth shall be taken up by the selvage and not by the ridge, and so to be presented to the market; and ordain the sheriff of the shires and magistrates within burgh to put this statute to execution within their several jurisdictions.<sup>1</sup>

*The Importation of Strong Waters* (1641).—Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament understanding that there are divers strong waters brought into this kingdom from foreign places, which might be more conveniently made within the kingdom for the benefit of the natives thereof, therefore, his Majesty, with consent of the said Estates, discharges all in-

<sup>1</sup> This Act is only one amongst many by which the Scottish Parliament sought to encourage linen manufacture. See below, p. 353.

bringing of aquavitæ or strong waters within this kingdom, under the pain of the escheat thereof.

*Hatmaking in Edinburgh (1641).*—Our Sovereign Lord and Estates of Parliament considering that it hath pleased God, by the virtue and industry of diverse skilful persons, hat-makers, that have (*sic*) within these few years within this burgh of Edinburgh, to bring that trade and calling to a greater perfection and more considerable than it has been in any year bygone, whereby the same has so flourished and grown to a greater number of workmen than has been in preceding ages, and for the maintaining thereof and giving occasion to workmen to strive daily to a greater perfection in the said calling of hatmaking, and for eschewing the great hindrance and prejudice which may follow by the growth of unskilful people thereunto, by occasion of lack of good government among them, therefore, his Majesty and Estates of Parliament, for the further advancement of that calling and trade within Edinburgh and the whole kingdom, and for the reformation of disorders thereunto, the better serving of the lieges of the realm and bringing of the said trade to a greater perfection, give and grant full power and liberty to the said hatmakers of an overseer and quartermaster yearly of their own calling to be elected, nominated, chosen and given them by the provosts, baillies, and council of the said burgh of Edinburgh.

*Army Surgeons (1644).*—The Estates nominate and appoint David Kennedy, James Ker, and Thomas Kincaid and Nehemiah Touch to be surgeons in the army presently sent from this kingdom into England, and that each of them shall have the charge of two regiments joined in one brigade as they shall be directed by the Lord General<sup>1</sup> and Committee with the army, for which service the Estates modify the sum of fifteen pounds sterling to be presently paid to each one of them for furnishing of their chest, and five shillings sterling of daily allowance to each surgeon, and four shillings to his two mates, half-a-crown daily for maintenance of two

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, who was at this time in England at the head of the Scottish army which fought at Marston Moor.

baggage horse and three shillings daily for maintenance of three saddle horses, and that there be a month's pay advanced for their outrig and furnishing their horses.

*Wounded Soldiers* (1644).—The Estates of Parliament, presently convened by virtue of the last Act of the last Parliament held by his Majesty and three Estates in year 1641 for encouraging of those who have gone out, or shall go out, in the expeditions and armies levied by his Estates for the good cause and for preserving the enemies thereof to go on the public service, statute and ordain that all soldiers that have [gone], or shall willingly go out in the public service aforesaid, and are, or shall happen to be, so hurt and wounded in the defence of the public cause, or in pursuing the enemies thereof, that they are thereby disabled from the ordinary employments and working in the several callings and crafts, and have no other maintenance for themselves, shall be maintained upon the public charges.

*Superstitious Days* (1647).—The Estates of Parliament considering that the observing of Yule day and other superstitious days is much occasioned by coalhewers and salters flitting and entering at Yule, therefore they ordain that the terms of flitting and entry of all coalhewers and salters shall hereafter be upon the first of December yearly, discharging any entry or removal to be at Yule hereafter; inhibiting also all and every one to observe the said superstitious time of Yule, or any other superstitious days in any manner of way, and that under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament made against profanation of the Sabbath.

*Drunkenness, Swearing, and other Profanities* (1649).—The Estates of Parliament considering that notwithstanding the laudable and pious act made at Perth the 7th of August 1645, against swearing, drunkenness, and mocking of piety, these vices do still continue and increase in the land unto the great dishonour of God and scandal of the Gospel, do therefore for remedy thereof renew the said act with the alteration and addition, viz.,—That whosoever shall be found culpable of any one or other of the vices mentioned in the said act by any civil or ecclesiastical judicatory

whereunto they are subject, shall even, after the first conviction before either of the said judications, be subject and liable to the several and respective penalties mentioned in the said act, and ordain the act aforesaid to have full force, strength, and effect in all other clauses thereof; and further ordains the said act to be extended and executed against scolders, filthy speakers, and makers or singers of obscene songs.

*Tillage and Pasturage* (1663).—Our Sovereign Lord considering how necessary it is for the encouragement of the tillage of this country, which is subject to so much toll and expense, though the improvement thereof be most advantageous to the whole kingdom, that liberty be granted for the exportation of corns after the natives are sufficiently provided for, therefore, the King's Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates in Parliament, statutes and declares that it shall be lawful to export corns of all sorts when they are under the prices following, at the ports or respective places of exportation, viz.,—Each boll of wheat under twelve pounds the boll, beir and barley under eight pounds the boll, oats and pease under eight marks the boll, notwithstanding of any former acts, laws, or practice to the contrary, they paying the usual custom and bullion as formerly, with this provision, that when the Lords of his Majesty's Secret Council shall judge it necessary for the good of the kingdom and preventing of dearth, they may discharge the exportation of victual of all sorts for so long time as they think fit; as also for improvement of the pasturage of this kingdom, and for encouragement of the breeders of the bestial thereof, it is statute and ordained, with advice and consent aforesaid, that the exportation by sea of all sorts of bestial, either oxen, sheep, or swine, and barrelled flesh of all sort, shall be free of custom, bullion, and all other impositions for the space of nineteen years next after the date hereof.

*Disorderly Baptisms* (1670).—Forasmuch as the disorderly carriage of some persons in the withdrawing from the ordinances of the sacraments in their own parish churches, and procuring their children to be baptised by persons not



publicly authorised or allowed,<sup>1</sup> is highly scandalous to the Protestant religion, and tends exceedingly to the increase of schism and profanity, therefore, the King's Majesty, with advice and consent of his Estates in Parliament, doth statute and prohibit all his Majesty's subjects that none of them, of whatsoever degree or quality, presume to offer their children to be baptised by any but such as are their own parish ministers, or else by such ministers as are authorised by the present established government of the church, or licensed by his Majesty's Council upon a certificate from the minister of the parish, if he be present, or in his absence by one of the neighbouring ministers.

*Concerning Apparel* (1673).—The King's Majesty's considering that some difficulties have occurred concerning some expressions and qualifications mentioned in the act, made in the last session of Parliament, concerning apparel, and that the manufacture of white lace or pearling made of thread (whereby many poor people gained their livelihood) was thereby much prejudiced and impaired, for the clearing and remedy whereof in time coming his Majesty hath thought fit, with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, to rescind, discharge, and annul that part of the aforementioned act for apparel concerning the allowance granted to the persons thereby privileged to wear velvet, satins, and other silk stuffs; and declares that now and in time coming, it shall be free to all and every person within this kingdom to wear all such silks, white lace, clothes, and others, in the same manner, and as freely, as by the aforesaid act they were allowed to be worn by privileged persons therein mentioned, and that plain satin ribbons may be worn upon apparel in the same manner as taffety ribbons.<sup>2</sup>

*Thatching of Houses* (1681).—Our Sovereign Lord considering the danger that may ensue from thatching of houses within the town of Edinburgh with straw bent or other combustible matter, the town being thereby exposed to the hazard of fire, and that the same is nowise decent to be seen in the

<sup>1</sup> That is, by covenanters at conventicles. <sup>2</sup> See above pp. 26, 29, for the Acts passed in the fifteenth century anent sumptuous clothing and the wearing of silks.

chief city of this kingdom, therefore, his Majesty, with consent of the Estates of Parliament, doth prohibit and discharge the thatching of any houses in the said Town, Canongate, and other suburbs thereof in time coming with straw bent or heather, but ordains them to be thatched with lead, slate, *scailzie*,<sup>1</sup> or tile; and statutes and ordains that such houses within the said town as are at present thatched with straw, be thatched anew with slate or tile, within the space of a year after the date hereof, under all highest pain and charge that after may follow; and likewise ordains all houses that shall be built in time coming in the burghs of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Sterling, to be thatched with lead, slate, *scailzie*, or tile, and no otherwise, under the foresaid penalty, and recommends to his Majesty's Privy Council, upon application to be made to them by the Magistrates of any other Burgh Royal, to give the like warrant and order for the thatching of houses within their burgh.

*Streets of Edinburgh* (1686).—Our Sovereign Lord considering the many complaints of the nastiness of the streets, wynds, closes, and other places of the city of Edinburgh, which is the capital city of the nation, where the chief Judicatories reside and to which his Majesty's lieges must necessarily resort and attend, as also the great trouble that does arise to his Majesty's lieges and the inhabitants by the great numbers of clamorous beggars repairing in and about the said city of Edinburgh, therefore, his Majesty, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, decerns and ordains the present Magistrates of Edinburgh and their successors to lay down effectual ways for preserving the said town of Edinburgh, Canongate, and suburbs thereof, from the nastiness of the streets, wynds, closes, and other places of the said burgh, and for freeing and purging the same of those numerous beggars which repair to and about the said burgh, and that under the pain of a thousand pounds Scots yearly to be paid by the magistrates who shall be in office to the Lords of Session to be applied by them for the end and use aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blue slate as distinguished from brown. <sup>2</sup> From this description of the streets of Edinburgh it would appear that Dunbar's satire retained all its point even to the close of the seventeenth century.

*Bodies to be buried in Scots Linen* (1686).—Our Sovereign Lord, for the encouragement of linen manufactories within this kingdom, and prevention of the exportation of the moneys thereof, for the buying and importing of linen, doth, with the advice and consent of his Estates of Parliamept, statute and ordain that hereafter no corpse of any person or persons whatsoever shall be buried in any shirt, sheet, or anything else, except in plain linen cloth of hards, made and spun within the kingdom, without lace or point, discharging from henceforth the making use of Holland or other linen cloth made in other kingdoms, all silk, hair, or woollen, gold or silver, or any other stuff whatsoever than what is made of flax or hards spun and wrought within the kingdom as said is, and that under the pain and penalty of three hundred pounds Scots *toties quoties* for a nobleman, and 200 pounds for each other person, whereof one half to the discoverer, and the half to the poor of the parish where the said corps shall be so interred, and for the better discovery of the contraveners, it is hereby statute and ordained that every minister within the kingdom shall keep a book containing an exact account and register of all persons buried within the said parish.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From 1678 to 1815 an Act in the English Statute-book prescribed burial in *woollen*. The object of the English Act was to lessen the importation of linen, and to encourage the English woollen manufactures.



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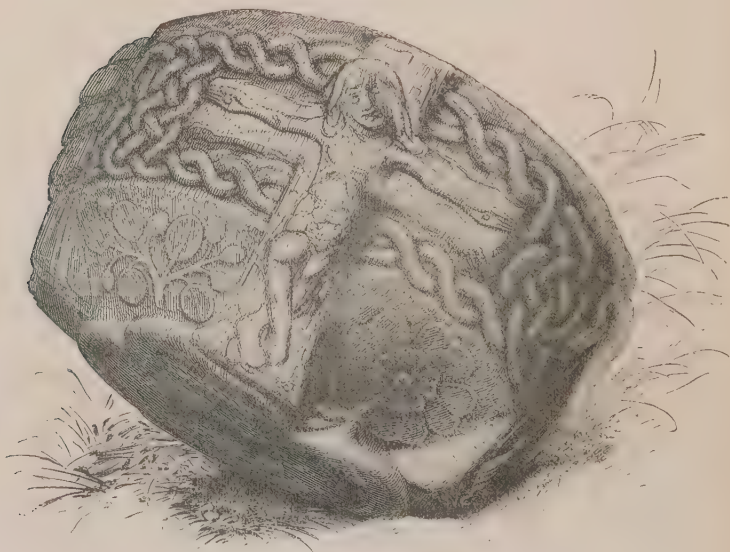
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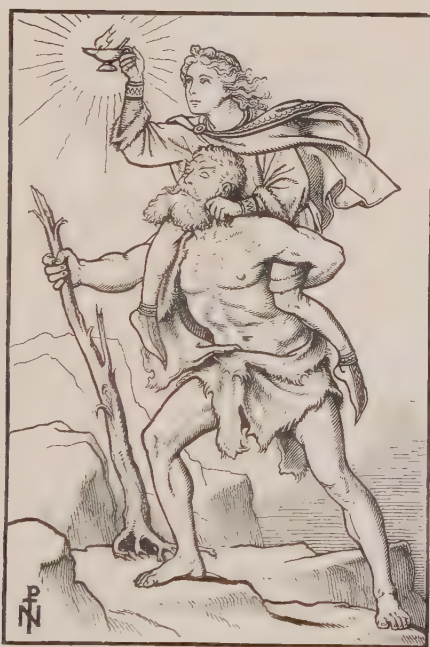
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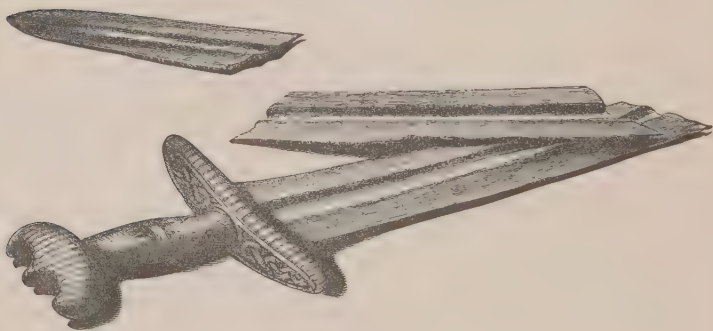
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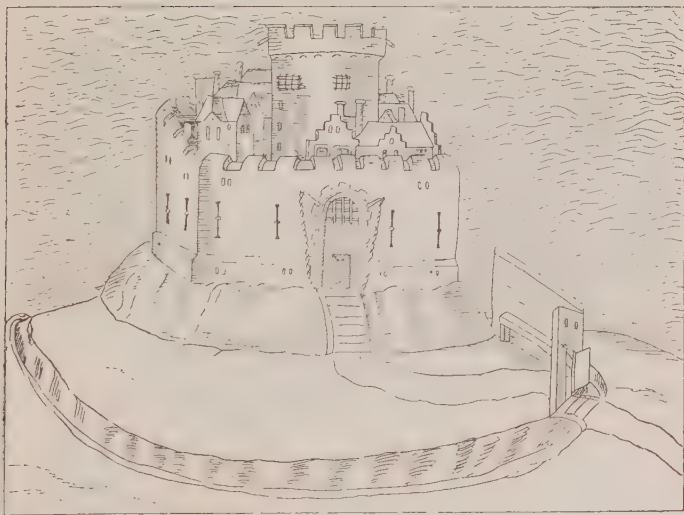
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